

MANGGHUER EMBROIDERY: A VANISHING TRADITION

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ABSTRACT

Visits were undertaken in the years 2001 and 2002 to Minhe Hui and Mangghuer (Tu) Autonomous County, Haidong Municipality, Qinghai Province, China to research and document Mangghuer embroidery. This research is summarized in terms of the history of Mangghuer embroidery, tools and materials, embroidery techniques, embroidered items, and embroidery's significance in Mangghuer women's lives. The materials are illustrated with numerous photographs.

KEYWORDS

embroidery, Mangghuer, Minhe, Monguor, Qinghai, Tu

INTRODUCTION

Embroidery was an appreciated art in Imperial China and used to decorate the robes, palaces, and homes of the rich and powerful, and continued to be used in similar ways in the early twenty-first century (Demick 2012):

In 2011, Chinese bought more Lamborghinis and Rolls-Royces than anybody else in the world. In time for Chinese New Year this month, Rolls is unveiling a "Year of the Dragon" model with hand-embroidered versions of mythical animals on leather headrests. Prices start at \$1.6 million.

However, alongside embroidery adding to the grandeur and magnificence of the elites, embroidery was also produced and consumed in much more modest circumstances. While many city and urban dwellers were poor, they also embellished their environment with embroidery, particularly for special occasions.

Much material in various languages on Chinese embroidery exists. A Google search for the term 'embroidery in China' on 4 January 2012 returned 280,000 hits. However, this literature often focuses on describing the most well-known embroidery-producing areas, e.g., Suzhou, Guangdong, Sichuan, and Hunan (Wang 1987, Chung 1979, Bertin-Guest 2003, Jiangsu Handicraft Art Society 1986, Zuo Hanzhong 1994). This obscures the abundance of embroidery produced in rural China, especially among ethnic minorities who have long, rich traditions of embroidery, including hand-sewn costumes, hats, and other objects of use. Wang (1987:14) mentions:

...the Miao, the Mongolians, the Uyghurs, the Yi, the Li, the Aini and others, who with their different historical background and traditions, besides making special textiles for consumption at home, also produced a great variety of exquisite and useful embroideries with a charm of their own.

According to Minick and Jiao (1966:18), "*Tiaohua* ('cross-stitch embroidery') is a traditional Miao technique practiced over a thousand years." And Prunner (1983:52) writes:

Die Schönheit der Webereien, Stickereien und Batiken der Völker des Südens hat bereits in der Song-Zeit (10. – 13. Jh.) die Aufmerksamkeit der Chinesen erregt, als derartige Arbeiten als

Tributgaben (*zongbu*) an der chinesischen Hof kamen...

The beauty of weaving, embroidery and batik of the peoples of the South was already established in the Song Dynasty (10th – 13th centuries), and attracted the attention of the Chinese, when such works came as tribute gifts (*zongbu*) to the Chinese court...

Folk embroidery impresses with its naiveté and impressive artistic ensembles, made all the more notable when bearing in mind that many of the makers received no formal training. Especially astonishing is how this beautiful tradition of folk embroidery – including silk embroidery – was carried out and maintained to this day, even in remote, and relatively poor regions along the eastern outskirts of the Tibetan Plateau – among the Mangghuer (Tu) people of Sanchuan in Minhe Hui and Tu Autonomous County, Haidong Municipality, Qinghai Province.

My first contact with Mangghuer embroidery came in 1999 when I joined the seminar on the Languages and Peoples of Qinghai while studying at the Institute for Asian and African Studies, University of Helsinki. At the end of the course, I wrote about the wedding ceremonies of Chinese families in Jingning Village, Gan'gou Township, Minhe County, on the basis of an article by Hu and Stuart (1992a), which noted that ceremonies in this area seemed to be similar to wedding rituals of Mangghuer living in southern Minhe County.

While reading related materials, I found mention of the bride and her family preparing embroidered articles as presents for the groom's relatives. However, the material I had access to lacked detailed information about these embroidered wedding gifts and the Mangghuer embroidery tradition, and there were no pictures. In my youth, I had created a number of embroidered articles – hangings, pillow covers, and initials on sheets, towels, and pillowcases. This partially explains my interest in embroidery. My curiosity thus aroused, I decided to visit the Mangghuer to learn more about their embroidery, local circumstances, possibilities of finding assistants and informants, and creating a network of contacts.

While preparing for my first trip in 2001 I received a message from Dr. Kevin Stuart, an American researcher who had been living in China since 1984. I thank him for the success of my investigation and for helping make my visits in Qinghai possible. He also had a personal collection of Mangghuer embroidery that I was able to photograph, scan, and study. I also had excellent local assistants, including Zhu Yongzhong from the Sanchuan Development Association (SDA) and Wen Xiangcheng in 2001, and Ma Taohua and Zhu Chunhua in 2002. They all appreciated the importance of my work and tried to help me in every way possible. I am very grateful to them. All these individuals speak Mangghuer, Chinese, and English, which was essential for me because the old women in the villages spoke Mangghuer, which I did not understand, and my Chinese was very poor.

During my 2001 and 2002 visits, I interviewed women between the ages of sixty and eighty, and their daughters and granddaughters to learn about their embroidery; embroidery implements they used in their youth, and how and where they acquired them; what objects they had embroidered and for whom; and to better understand the importance of embroidery in their lives. Everyone I met was very positive about my study. The women enthusiastically showed their embroidered items to me and described them. A Mangghuer widower in Chenjia Village showed me beautiful embroidered items that had been created by his wife.

HISTORY OF MANGGHUER EMBROIDERY

When did Mangghuer begin to decorate their costumes with embroidery? How old is their embroidery tradition? Answers to these questions are difficult, but the technique and also the designs are of a very high level, suggesting development over many generations.

The Russian explorer Grigory (Grigoriy) Nikolayevich Potanin (1835-1920) mentions in his travelogue (1893) that he and his wife participated in a Mangghuer wedding and were told that the bride had personally made the embroidered pillows displayed on the *kang* for the benefit of the wedding guests. During the wedding, embroidered gifts were given to members of the groom's family, and the groom's family also gave gifts (380):

Подарки заключались въ кускахъ матеріи и въ расшитыхъ шелкомъ квадратикахъ, нашиваемыхъ на подушки.

The gifts consisted of pieces of cloth and silk embroidered squares sewn on pillows.

In Schram's study (1932:48) of Monguor weddings we find:

Les femmes en particulier s'intéressent fort aux cadeaux; elles examinant les étoffes et le fini des broderies, surtout celles des manches et des deux bouts des ceintures. On travaille souvent des mois et des mois à ces pieces. L'examen achevé on amène la fiancée.

The women in particular are very interested in gifts; they examine materials and the beauty of embroidered objects, especially the sleeves and the ends of the belts, the preparation of which has required months and months. When the inspection is finished, the bride is brought in.

A description of an embroidered item appears in Stuart and Hu's (1992:75) article on Mangghuer funerals, "The boy and girl with plate-and-liquor-flagon motif also are embroidered on stuffed pillow ends, and this pillow is used in the coffin, under the head of the corpse."

Traditionally, there is much singing at Mangghuer weddings, and I asked the interviewees if the songs mention embroidery. No one remembered any songs mentioning embroidery. In an article by Qi et al. (1999:89-90) concerning wedding ceremonies in Minhe County, however, a song called Embroidering Flowers [Xiu lianhua] is mentioned. While it lacks information about making embroidery, 'embroidering flowers' is repeated as a refrain.

The interviewees also did not know anything about the history of their embroidery, but certain objects were said to be very old – "from the ancestors." Some items that no longer had a present model – for example, previously used multi-colored, embroidered 'fake sleeves' or a wedding outfit, which could only be admired at the exhibition at the Culture Center in Guanting Town, where a traditional Mangghuer festive outfit with an apron, collar, and head ornament were on display.

TOOLS AND MATERIALS

In embroidery we use needles, fabric, thread, pincushions, thimbles, and paper design patterns (Lü Jinlianmei) (F1).¹

¹ 'F' refers to 'Figure'. Jennifer Lai took photographs 6, 37, 40, and 49, Raisa Luomi took 5 and 11, and SDA took 8, 19, 21, 30, 44, 53, 54, 55, and 57. I took the others.

Clothes and shoes were generally made of cotton but silk was also common, if available, in embroidery. Many interviewees told me, however, that their families had been very poor; consequently, they used cotton instead of silk. Both fabrics and threads were purchased from peddlers, and later in stores. La Neia² (b. 1923) said that when she was a child there were no shops; they first appeared in the 1970s.

According to Deng Sangmei (b. 1924), hemp was cultivated in her home village and thread was spun from it and used for weaving bags and sewing shoe soles. Only one interviewee said her home had possessed a loom, which was used to weave fabrics for bags and sleeping pads. Only men wove with looms in Sanchuan.

Zhu Guobao (b. 1929) reported that when she was preparing woolen thread and fabric, she borrowed a drop spindle from her husband's brother. The weight was of stone and the shaft was of wood.

It was not easy to find a loom in the village. I found looms far from our village. Looms were used to weave fabrics for bags. We used sheep wool to make thread. We prepared bed clothes and outerwear with this thread. We used these clothes even when we were working in the field. We used white cloth to make socks, but we did not know how to knit socks from yarn. Few people knew (Lü Jinlianmei).

Figure 1. Nuo Shuangxihua's sewing tools: thimble, threader, scissors, and embroidered pincushion with needles.



² My notes contain this entry, but it is surely a mistake. Mr. Zhu Yongzhong suggested it might be Lu Nuer or La Erhua.

Many interviewees reported that it was difficult to obtain thread, and that silk was especially expensive (F2). Sometimes gold-coated thread acquired from monks was used.

Figure 2. An Liumei kept silk threads inside an old book. On the right is a stiff paper template for a pillow end panel.



The peddler purchased cotton thread from very far away, maybe from Lanzhou or elsewhere. At that time, thread and needles were expensive, unlike today (Lü Jinlianmei).

Threads were sold in bundles consisting of twenty-five different colors. The price of a bundle was one *yuan*. A bundle of five different colors could be bought for this price in 2001. Interviewees stated that colors remained unchanged (F3).

Figure 3. Modern bright-colored acrylic threads used in *duoke* technique. Bought from a peddler in Guanting in 2002.



If a suitable color was unavailable, white fabric and thread were dyed (F4). All dyes were derived from plants before the invention of aniline dyes in England in 1856 and their entry into China around 1870 (Garrett 1997:15). The interviewees also reported that, in their youth, plant leaves and old sunflower seeds were used in dying.

A black or blue dye was made by boiling sunflower seeds for twenty minutes. It was used especially for dyeing fabrics. Vegetable-based dye was more permanent than synthetic dyes, and also faded nicely over the years. Interviewees reported that synthetically dyed fabric and thread began losing color in ten years' time. Commercial dyeing powder was bought from peddlers.

The needles were straight and very short – two to three centimeters long – so that they would not bend when pushed through a thick layer of fabrics. They were expensive. La Neia reported that when she had no mother "nor anyone else," she borrowed a needle and thread from her friends, or stole wheat or eggs from home in order to buy supplies from peddlers. She first bought items at age twelve and was very pleased to go by herself to make purchases from the peddlers. She had some money at this age because she was already a skilled sewer and had made embroidery for other girls. Even so, she could not afford an entire package of needles, because it was too expensive. Each 'pack' contained twenty-five needles, and the price was five 'coins'. Eggs were a common medium of exchange when supplies were obtained from peddlers.

Needles were kept in beautifully embroidered pincushions (F5) when not in use, which also displayed the maker's embroidery skills because it hung from a button on the woman's dress, where it was easily accessible.

Figure 4. Old apron in appliqué. The background and appliqué fabrics were colored with vegetable dyes that have faded nicely over time (K. Stuart's collection).



Figure 5. Pincushion with plum blossom design embroidered in sa technique. Made by La Neia (author's collection).



The Mangghuer did not use metal pins but, instead, templates were usually fastened on the fabric with a few stitches. At times, small sharp pieces of stiff paper were put through the template and the fabric under it to keep the template in place.

No special embroidery scissors were used. Scissors with round handles, of different sizes were used.

The thimble – a sewing ring – was important. It was impossible to sew without a thimble because the layers of fabric in thick soles of shoes for bound feet had to be attached with needle and thread and were up to two centimeters thick.

The Mangghuer thimble differs from its Western counterparts by not covering the tip of the finger but being shaped more like a ring. It is a one centimeter wide metal ring, with small dents in the surface that prevent the needle from slipping out of position when sewing through fabric. The ring is closed or open with overlapping ends to fit around the finger. It is worn around the second joint of the third finger and not often taken off (F6).

When I was a child, I put it on my finger and now I cannot take it off (La Neia).

The needle threader (see F1) was rare – only two interviewees had one. It is small, gun-shaped, and very different from what I have seen used in the West.

Figure 6. La Neia's thimble.



Mangghuer did not use rectangular embroidery frames traditionally used in Chinese embroidery. They preferred embroidery hoops, where the fabric is tightened between a pair of concentric circular rings. Round hoops are light and easy to handle (F7).

Figure 7. Zhang Xihua doing *duoke* using a hoop.



Patterns were usually adapted from the mother or friends, but some women drew and cut them themselves, after looking at other's works. Li Xinghua (b. 1940) told me that, in her village, flower designs were made by moistening flowers, which were then glued on newspaper or yellow paper burnt as offering to deities or the ancestors and cut along the contours for a pattern.

Templates made out of stiff paper are very practical in preparing pillow ends: the template allows the same motif to be reversed for a mirror-image (F8). None of the interviewees said they bought paper templates; instead, they made them themselves. Some skilled cutters in the village were also asked to make templates.

Figure 8. Unfinished pillow end panels by Li Baoshou. The templates can be left under the stitches as support material.



The design was traced on cloth using various methods. The most expert embroiderers drew designs directly on the fabric. If a paper template was used, it was placed on the cloth and the pattern contours were drawn with ash. The template could also be left below the embroidery as support material.

Paste was needed to fasten two or more layers of cloth onto each other when a stable embroidery base was necessary, for example, in shoes, apron pockets, pillow ends, soles, and insoles. If a paper template was left under the embroidery pattern, it was fixed to the bottom fabric with paste or by tacking with thread. The paste was prepared by boiling flour and water until they formed a mixture of appropriate thickness. Preparation required twenty to fifty minutes, and required constant stirring.

EMBROIDERY TECHNIQUES

Sa Technique

The oldest interviewees reported that they had used only the *sa* technique, which consisted mostly of satin stitches with different variations. There were also other stitches: chain stitch, stem stitches, cross stitches, Pekinese stitches, knot stitches, and gold work (F9). The metal-coated thread for gold work was bought from the monks. Beautiful 'dog's tooth' stitching was applied while finishing pillow ends, where the embroidered pattern was 'framed' with cotton cloth, along with ordinary back stitches and cross stitches.

Figure 9. Example of *sa* technique that mainly includes satin stitches with variations (K. Stuart's collection).



Appliqué technique

Decorative *appliqué* was evident in old aprons where the base fabric is decorated by sewing designs on it cut from a separate fabric (F10).

Figure 10. Example of *appliqué* on an old apron pocket. The fabric is decorated by sewing designs cut from separate fabric (K. Stuart's collection).



Woke Technique

The interviewees born in the 1960s and 1970s also reported using the *woke* technique, which is a mixture of Romanian couching, also known as Oriental couching, and Bokhara couching where the slanting stitches are arranged to form lines across the laid threads, e.g., in large flowers and leaves (Webb 2006). This technique began to be popular in the 1970s and was common in flat pillowcases and various hangings. In Mangghuer embroidery, the stitches are sewn extremely tightly with a single strand of thread (F11). When worked with lustrous cotton, the embroidery is very attractive. Making it was very laborious and time consuming and it thus fairly soon went out of use when another new technique appeared.

Figure 11. Example of subtle *woke* technique on a pillowcase for a flat pillow (Puba Village, author's collection).



Duoke Technique

The *duoke* technique is a fast and very impressive embroidery technique that is also known as punch stitchery or Russian punch needle stitch (F12). It was introduced to the Mangghuer in the 1980s. I was unaware of this technique in 2002, as were the textile lecturers at Helsinki University whom I consulted. I later found Punch Needle Marketplace on the Internet,³ and learned of its popularity in the USA.

The *duoke* tool featured on Punch Needle Marketplace consists of a needle and a handle. The Mangghuer, however, worked with only a needle that is very different from an ordinary sewing needle. The *duoke* needle is hollow and the eye is at the tip of the needle, as in a sewing machine needle. The thread passes through the hollow needle, and sewing work is done from the reverse side of the work following the pattern. The surface is thus filled so that the needle is 'topstitched' through the fabric, with each injection leaving a small loop beneath the fabric. The loops of about one millimeter in length are very close together, producing a soft, terry-like surface. As already mentioned, the Mangghuer used a needle without a handle and also an electric punch machine with batteries, which also are available online. In the early 2000s, *duoke* had replaced both antecedent techniques.

³ <http://www.punchneedlemarketplace.com>.

Figure 12. Example of *duoke* technique and a *duoke* needle (Puba Village, author's collection).



Khuleghsi ganger Technique

Khuleghsi ganger technique is another modern technique used by the Mangghuer, similar to Core-wrapping Embroidery (Wang 1987). Instead, however, of thick thread for 'padding' the Mangghuer use a thin sliver of bamboo, which is closely covered by small stitches in horizontal rows (F13). The stitches must be worked tightly together and can be seen on the reverse side of the item. When a row is finished the bamboo sliver is removed and placed closely adjacent to the earlier row, and another row is started. The result of the *khuleghsi ganger* technique is a soft surface of loops resembling the *duoke* technique. This technique is only used in insoles.

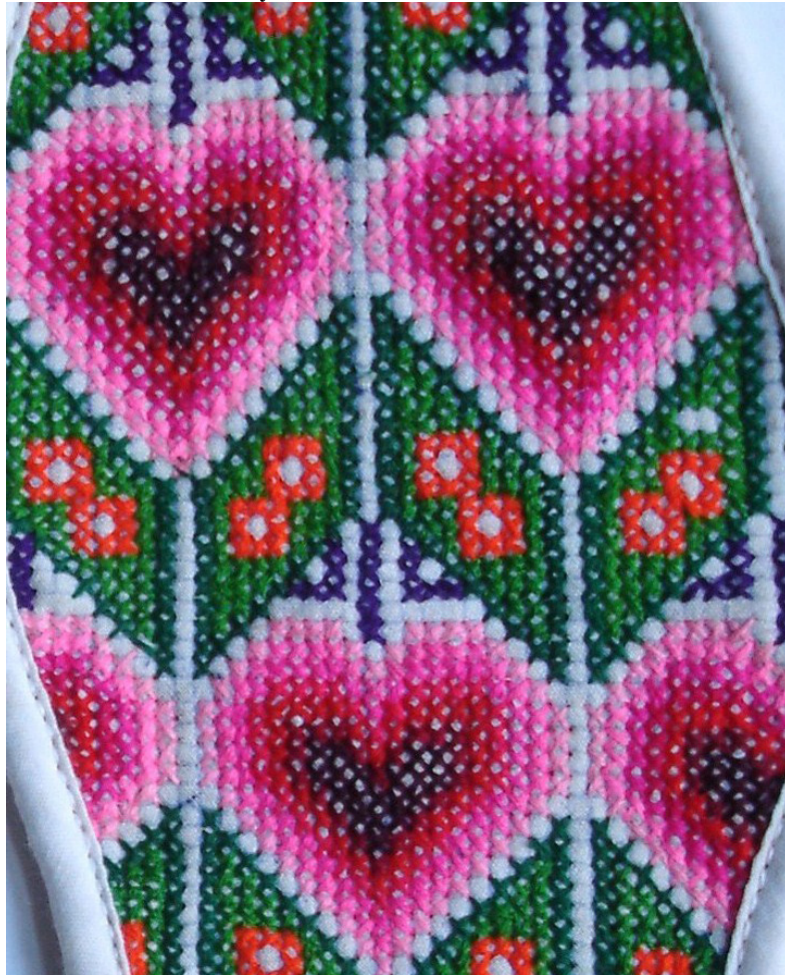
Figure 13. Example of *khuleghsi ganger* technique. The stitches are sewn over a bamboo sliver in horizontal rows (Nongchang Village, author's collection).



Cross-stitch Technique

Cross-stitch embroidery is currently popular among the Mangghuer, especially in sewing insoles (F14). The Mangghuer do not use a fabric where the threads are 'pre-calculated' (e.g., canvas). Instead, the fabric is drawn into two-three millimeter squares with a ballpoint pen and then the pattern is sewn on it. I have photos from more than fifty cross-stitch insoles and the patterns are all different.

Figure 14. Example of cross-stitch embroidery (author's collection).



LIFE OF MANGGHUER WOMEN AND EMBROIDERY IN DIFFERENT LIFE STAGES

Mangghuer women did embroidery throughout their lives until a few decades ago. Young girls learned to make and embroider clothes and shoes, followed by preparing wedding gifts and items for her trousseau, and then made clothes for her family and in-laws. When a daughter-in-law gradually began doing the heaviest chores, her mother-in-law concentrated on caring for the grandchildren and, finally finished her last embroidery, the burial clothes for herself and her husband.

Childhood – Learning to Embroider

Learning embroidery skills began at the age of five to fifteen, but the most common starting age was twelve. Lü Jinlianmei told me that she was a skilled embroiderer by the age of eight, even though she had started sewing at the age of seven. The girl's first teacher was usually the mother, or if the mother had died when the daughter was very young, a grandmother, aunts, older siblings, or friends advised her. If there was no guide, others were observed.

The brightness and warmth of summer encouraged sewing. Poverty meant oil was not burnt in the evening for sewing work.

I could sew only during the daytime. We had just a little oil, and we could not make shoes or other clothing accessories under lamplight. Sometimes my mother made shoes in the moonlight (Lü Jinlianmei).

The first embroidered articles were made for oneself, "because they were not yet very good." One woman told me she made a pillow for herself, and another said she made an embroidered collar for a dress. If the mother had died, the girl made her own shoes, thus her first embroidered articles were often shoes for bound feet,⁴ which were very demanding to make. (F15)

First, I made a pair of shoes for myself. Some girls embroidered collars, but I did not because my family was very poor. It was not easy to find cotton fabric to make shoes. Most families in our village were poor; there were just a few wealthy ones (Nuo Shuangxihua, b. 1931).

Figure 15. Ma Tianxi's shoes for bound feet. The vamp's size is about fifteen centimeters and made of black cotton with black ties and embroidered in silk showing motifs of butterfly and begonia. The sole, which is about two centimeters high, is made of densely layered, stitched cotton.



The Han Chinese tradition of binding women's feet to resemble 'lotus buds' probably started after the fall of the Tang Dynasty (618-907). The style was introduced at the court quickly and spread gradually until it was prevalent throughout the country. During the Qing Dynasty an attempt was made to stop foot binding – the feet of Manchu women were not bound – but it was not until the late 1800s that the custom began to fall into disuse and was eventually banned in 1912 by the new Nationalist Government. However, actual attempts were not made to ban foot binding in Sanchuan until the

⁴ Dr. Stuart said (summer 2001) that, to his knowledge, the Mangghuer were the only Mongol-related people who bound girls' feet.

1930s-1940s by Zhu Haishan.⁵ The old tradition, however, did not change overnight, and continued in remote Mangghuer areas. Mothers worried that a daughter with unbound feet would remain unmarried.

My feet were bound when I was six years old. My parents helped bind them. If I did not bind them tightly enough, my mother scolded me. After my mother's death, I bound them myself. My feet were already very small when my mother died (Ku Yingchunlan, b. 1920).

Youth – Trousseau and Wedding Gifts

After the basics of embroidery skills were mastered, girls began preparing trousseau and wedding gifts, regardless of whether or not a marriage had been arranged. The trousseau consisted of clothes or fabrics for the bride's own use, sometimes for her entire lifetime, or at least for the first few years of marriage – "for eating", as one interviewee said, i.e., without putting a strain on her husband's family's economy.

Some girls began preparing their trousseau at the age of twelve, because it often required three to five years. Female family members contributed to this work, because the eventual bride required a wide range of embroidered items for her own use and for gifts to be given at the wedding to the groom and his relatives. These works demonstrated the bride's needlework dexterity and worthiness as a bride to her future groom and his mother.

The apron was an important item in the bride's trousseau in the early twentieth century. Interviewees reported that a girl could not marry without it (F16). Other articles included pillows with embroidered ends, clothes, shoes, and a wedding dress, if the family could afford it. None of the interviewees I consulted had a wedding dress; however, a woman's outfit reproduced according to an old Mangghuer festival costume was on display at the Guanting Culture Center.

Interviewees prepared up to several tens of embroidered items as gifts to be distributed at the wedding to the groom and his family. Decorative items of this type included pillows with embroidered ends, clothes, boots, and soles. Wallets and festive sashes were less common. A bride from a poor family brought only fabric to the groom's home, and used it to make clothes for herself.

The trousseau items and the wedding gifts were completed and stored in a wooden trousseau chest until the bride went to the groom's home (F17).

An Liumei (b. 1941) said that most brides had a trousseau chest and stated that her father gave her such a chest when she was twelve. Some interviewees borrowed a chest because they lacked one of their own. The chests were painted red or black, and decorated with paintings of various colorful floral motifs. Rich girls usually had two chests while poor brides had only one chest, or none. The chests and the items inside were displayed to wedding guests during the wedding ritual, and the bride was not present at this time.

⁵ Zhu Haishan was a Tibetan Buddhist monk from Sanchuan's Puba Valley. He had close ties to the Republican government and its representatives, including the ninth Panchen Lama, and carried out a series of modernizing reforms in Sanchuan that included building schools and a library, anti-Japanese propaganda, and anti-footbinding campaigns. He was born sometime in the late nineteenth century and died sometime in the mid-twentieth century. See Zhu and Stuart (1996) and Roche and Wen (2013) for more.

Figure 16. Apron with a detachable pocket. The designs depicting auspicious symbols of peonies, butterflies, peaches, pomegranates, and Buddha's hand, have been finely embroidered in *sa* technique (K. Stuart's collection).



Figure 17. Trousseau chest from Minzhu Village.



I had only one trousseau chest, where I put my clothes, shoes, and long pillows. I could not show them to the guests myself, but I heard guests saying that some of the items were good; some of the items were not so good (Zhu Guobao, b. 1929).

When I visited, many interviewees told me that they had given their chests to relatives when they married, or had discarded them. Ku Yingchunlan said that she had refused an offer to sell her chest.

The interviewees' reports revealed that their parents arranged their marriages, and spouses were generally from other villages. Potanin mentions that the girl was definitely from another village, because the natal village belonged to a single extended family. However, marriage within the same large village is acceptable when the bride and groom are unrelated or not closely related.⁶ Historically, the girl had to have small feet and had to know how to embroider. A beautiful face was unimportant.

Generally, a rich man married a rich girl and poor married poor. Parents helped their children find a spouse. They could not see each other before the wedding (Nuo Shuangxihua, b. 1931).

The interviewees remembered the arrival of the bridal entourage at the groom's home. It was an important moment for the future daughter-in-law because the trousseau chests were opened and all the contents displayed for the wedding guests, who then rated her skills. Exquisite embroidery helped to gain the mother-in-law's approval.

When the gifts made by the bride were distributed, the groom usually received a pair of boots with embroidered soles and heel supports, and often clothes, and sometimes a wallet or a sash. In-laws were given pillow ends, clothes, or boots. Pillow ends were given to the uncles and other guests.

In the late 1880s, the groom's relatives gave gifts of fabrics and pillows decorated with embroidered ends to the bride's relatives. This custom was discontinued between that time and the time when my interviewees married.

Adulthood – Embroidered Gifts for the Family

Some interviewees told me that after marrying, and if time allowed, they continued making embroidered sock soles, heel supports, pillow ends, and pockets for aprons or vests. They also helped their husband's sisters make embroidered items, because a beautiful trousseau of a relative was also an honor for the daughter-in-law.

Some of the items that I found most attractive were the hats mothers embroidered for their sons. The Mangghuer traditionally highly value sons, who represent the future of the family, and bear responsibility for parents and ancestors. Giving birth to a son also gave new power and prestige to the mother in her husband's home. Without sons, a woman was considered primarily an economic burden. It is thus understandable that embroidered hats made for the boys were labor intensive and beautiful.

⁶ For example, Zhu Yongzhong (personal communication, 2012) quotes a male resident of Xiakou Village: "My father's younger sister married a man and moved into his home in the Xie Family group. He lives about a half kilometer from her natal home in the same village. She is from the Laozhuang group."

Old Age – Burial Clothing

At the age of about sixty, a woman gradually begins preparing coffin clothing for herself and her husband. She may be helped by her daughters or daughter-in-law. I hesitated at first to ask interviewees about articles related to funerals. However, death is not a sensitive subject. As Stuart and Hu (1992b:68) note, "Death for the Minhe Tu is not an end but merely the conclusion of one revolution of an endlessly spinning wheel of existence." All the interviewed women were delighted to show me their beautiful funeral clothing. This clothing was usually wrapped in a scarf and stored in a locked cupboard on the *kang*. They also put on the costumes so that I was able to take photographs.

Xin Youfang (b. 1940) said that embroidered coffin accessories were used only after 1950, and earlier, she said, ordinary clothes and pillows were used. Only embroidered shoes, pillow ends or pillow covers, and chin rests are used today, in the 2000s.

EMBROIDERED ITEMS OF THE MANGGHUER

Footwear

A Mangghuer woman traditionally made footwear for herself and for her husband. Shoes for women were for bound feet and men's shoes were short boots with thin cotton soles. In 2001, buying shoes was widespread among the Mangghuer, although hand-made shoes were common in mountain villages.⁷

Shoes for Bound Feet

Women, born 1920 to 1940, used *khuzhutai hai* 'hook shoes' for bound feet. Mangghuer shoes for bound feet differ from the 'lotus shoes' of Chinese women in model and size. The ideal shoe size of Chinese women was seven to thirteen centimeters measured from tip to heel, and the shoe tip often tapered downward. The sole of the Mangghuer women's shoes ranged from twelve centimeters upwards, depending on how tightly the feet were bound in childhood, and the shoe tip curled upwards, hence the term 'hook shoes' (F18).

Chinese lotus shoes, Manchu women's platform shoes, and Mongol women's shoes with an upturned tip (as can be seen in the Museum of Mongolian Costumes in Ulaan Baatar in Mongolia) all seem to have influenced Mangghuer shoes. Jackson notes (2000:49) that Manchu women were not permitted to adopt the Chinese custom of foot binding, thus the platform shoe was a Manchu woman's unique response to foot binding. Feet elevated on platforms made it appear that the wearer had bound feet when she walked, wobbling a bit, in her long gown.

⁷ There were traditionally plains and mountain villages, and mountain villages were both poorer and more conservative.

Figure 18. Shoes for bound feet embroidered with silk on cotton fabric. The thick sole is stitched by hand with hemp yarn (Chenjia Village).



A Mangghuer shoe's thick platform sole was made by pasting several layers of cotton fabric and stitching them together with thread. The soles were 1.5 to two centimeters thick. The uppers were usually made of black cotton fabric and embroidered in different colors with silk thread. A heel flap facilitated pulling the shoe on the foot and the shoe could be strapped around the ankle with ribbons.

Normally, we used left-over cotton from trousers to make footwear. The cloth was poor quality and the cotton was from another place. Sometimes we dyed the fabric green, and then used it to make shoes. We bought dye from peddlers. Sunflowers were also used for dyeing (Lü Jinlianmei).

The hook shoes – also made for the coffin – were usually embroidered with colorful flowers. However, I noticed an embroidered spider on one grandmother's shoes. When I asked her why she had chosen a spider motif, she replied, "I think it's so beautiful!"

Ankle Covers

The *shaghai jier* 'ankle cover' is an embroidered item that is tied above the mouth of Mangghuer women's little shoes for bound feet to cover the white cloth wrapped around the ankle (F19). This embroidery should have a strip for tying.

Figure 19. Ankle covers by Zhu Changminghua. Embroidery with black thread on blue cotton is framed with black edging. The design shows tiny butterflies and a pattern, reminiscent of an endless knot.



Boots and Socks

I saw only one pair of old fabric boots still in use in a village in Puba. The lady of the house brushed most of the mud off the boots, to allow me to study them in more detail. The boots were about twenty-five centimeters tall, made from black cotton, and had cotton lining. The sole and the heelpiece were embroidered (F20).

Figure 20. Short boots in black cotton with a thin sole, from Puba Village. The sole and the heel pieces are embroidered with floral designs in back stitch.



The boot soles consisted of three or four layers of fabric. The top black cotton cloth was embroidered in green thread with floral motif (F21), and the heel, as well, with a flower, a Chinese cabbage, a gourd, and so on. Sometimes the heel pieces were made of white cloth and the embroidery thread was either green or colorful cotton thread (F22).

Figure 21. Embroidered soles made by Nuo Shuangxihua. The floral design is finely embroidered in green thread with tiny back stitches, barely visible to the naked eye.



Lü Jinlianmei told me that they used white cloth when making socks, but did not know how to knit them from thread. Only a few people knew how to do that. Nowadays, socks bought from shops are strengthened with leftover embroidered soles and heel pieces (F23).

Figure 22. Three heel pieces embroidered in *sa* technique with multicolored or green thread with floral designs and another three with monochrome thread in Pekinese stitch with gourd and butterfly designs (K. Stuart's collection).



Figure 23. Modern utilization of leftover embroidered soles and heel pieces (K. Stuart's collection).



Homemade Shoes

In the early 2000s, men, women, and children have flat shoes. The women's and children's shoes are strapped with a ribbon and button, or are buckled. Such shoes were made entirely of fabric and embroidered in earlier times (F24 and F25). Nowadays, it is possible to buy a white plastic sole and attach an embroidered fabric cover. Such shoes feature very little embroidery and only a small floral motif in satin stitches is embroidered on the upper edge (F26). Men's black canvas shoes lack embroidery.

Figure 24. Homemade woman's shoes with full cotton soles stitched with hemp thread (Minzhu Village).



Figure 25. Homemade child's shoes with fully embroidered soles (Chenjia Village).



Figure 26. Plastic sole attached to a homemade upper with small embroidery in *sa* technique (Nongchang Village).



Insoles

Insoles are commonly used in shoes with a hard plastic bottom, which were previously used as outer soles. Women prepare insoles when they have leisure time. The insoles consist of three or four layers of fabric that are combined either by embroidering through the fabric layers, or the top fabric is first embroidered and fixed to the layers and finished with a lining fabric, for example, with a sewing machine. The edges are finished with a fabric strip, which is attached either by hand or by machine. While embroidering insoles, *duoke* technique (F27) and cross stitches (F28) are currently used, but I also saw some pairs of beautiful insoles embroidered with satin stitches (F29) and with *khuleghsi ganger* technique (F30).

Figure 27. Eye-catching floral designs on insoles embroidered in *duoke* technique (Puba Village, author's collection).



Figure 28. Insoles with different patterns executed in cross-stitch (Zhuji Village, author's collection).



Figure 29. Insoles with refined figures and colors, worked in *sa* technique (Jingning Village).



Figure 30. Two pairs of colorful insoles in *khuleghsi ganger* technique (Nongchang Village).



Pillows and Pillow Ends

The old fashion pillow or 'long pillow', is about forty centimeters long, tube-shaped, and has square-shaped ends of about eighteen centimeters. The pillow itself is made of simple cotton fabric but the ends are beautifully embroidered. Long pillows are still used in some homes (F31).

Figure 31. Long pillow in cotton with an embroidered end panel depicting a crane and a butterfly among lotus flowers (Minzhu Village).



I saw many embroidered long pillow end panels, because they have been traditional wedding gifts. A pair of ends with complementary motifs is usually attached with a thread and when needed, may be fixed to a pillow.

Foundation cloth was cotton or silk, while the embroidery thread was almost always silk. The color of the base fabric was unimportant and might be black, red, green, or bright yellow. The color of the fabric should, however, highlight the colors of the embroidered pattern. In pillow ends only the *sa* technique is used (F32).

The embroidery designs were usually large, colorful flowers, birds, and butterflies, which most women mentioned as favorites. The peony was by far the most popular of the flowers.

When the pattern is completed, it is framed, generally by black, but sometimes with red cotton cloth. The frame is a three to four centimeter wide fabric strip adorned with dog's-tooth stitching, which combines the pattern and the border. The back is covered with glossy red paper. As some of the pillow ends were several decades old and passed in a family from one bride to another, the red backing paper of some pillow ends was torn.

Figure 32. Pillow end depicting a flower and a butterfly embroidered in *sa* technique with refined colors. The embroidered silk end panel and the black cotton frame are combined with cross-stitches and beautiful dog's-tooth stitches (Puba Village, author's collection).



Modern pillows are flat, and their ruffle-edged uppers are purchased or manufactured in white fabric. They are also embroidered: the earlier ones with *woke* technique (F33), but solely with *duoke* technique more recently (F34).

Figure 33. Modern flat pillow case embroidered in *woke* technique (Puba Village, author's collection).



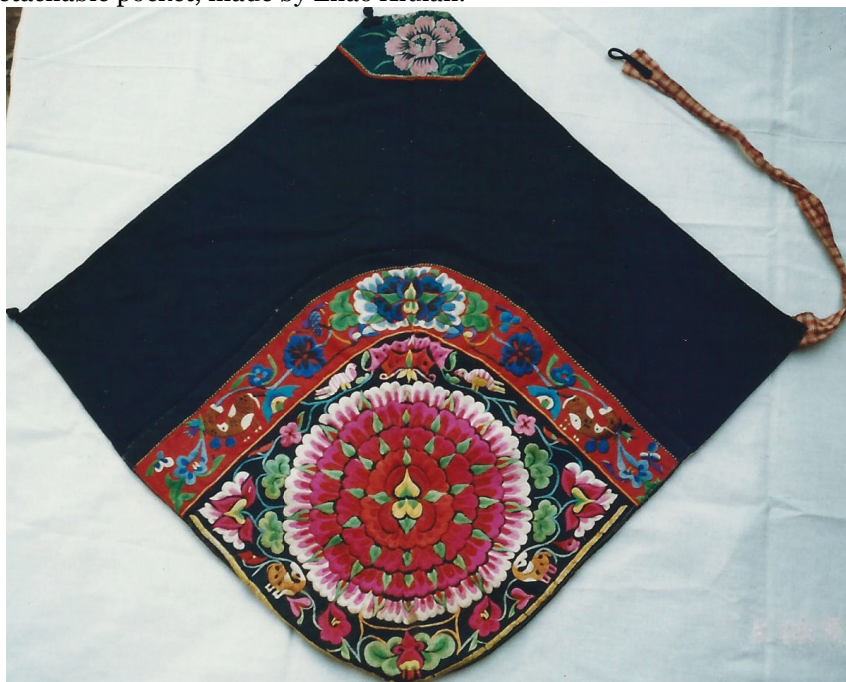
Figure 34. Modern flat pillow case embroidered in *duoke* technique. Made by Ma Xiuying.



Aprons and Apron Pockets

The Mangghuer apron was historically commonly worn. It was diamond-shaped and covered the chest and stomach (F35). Garret (1977) suggests that this model is developed from accessories of the Ming Dynasty, such as Chinese women used into the early twentieth century. The apron has a narrow top, slightly less than ten centimeters in width, and widens at the base to a semi-circular bottom. Fabric strings are tied around the neck and the waist.

Figure 35. Apron with detachable pocket, made by Zhao Xiulan.



A striking detail of the Mangghuer apron is a large pocket on the lower part, beautifully embroidered with various-colored threads. The model is usually a huge flower with butterflies, but there may also be geometric patterns, or mice, cats, or rabbits in the edging fabric. When the pocket was worn out from everyday use, it was removed and discarded and a new pocket was sewn on it. Such aprons are now rarely used, although I saw a few aprons and about ten old pockets.

Pockets for Sleeveless Jackets

Instead of the traditional apron, women may wear a sleeveless jacket or vest covering the chest and back, reaching to the waist and buttoned on the right side (F36). An embroidered pocket is sewn on the jacket and can be removed when necessary and replaced with a new one. A pincushion often hangs from the jacket button. Because the use of jackets has decreased, I saw many exquisitely embroidered, unfinished pockets (F37, F38, and F39).

Figure 36. Vest/Sleeveless jacket with a detachable embroidered pocket and a pincushion (Chenjia Village).



Figure 37. Pocket for a sleeveless jacket made by Nuo Shuangxihua. Exquisite embroidery depicting a phoenix and a peacock with peony and lotus flowers. The bottom piece features four small designs outlined with gold thread in Pekinese stitch. The motifs include (1) Buddha's hand and pomegranates, (2) butterfly and peony, (3) butterfly and lotus, and (4) begonia and cat.



Figures 38 (left) and 39 (right). (Left) detail from an unfinished vest pocket with embroidered phoenix and goldfish surrounded by flowers and butterflies. (Right) The reverse side of the pocket, showing the backing with small leftover pieces of cotton fabric (K. Stuart's collection).



Pincushions

A pincushion consists of a soft, padded cushion for the needles, and a pull-on hood (F40). The hood is covered with silk and embroidered, with a different motif on both sides. There is a long loop at the top of the interior part that passes through the hood, which is pulled down to cover the needles so they do not prick the carrier.

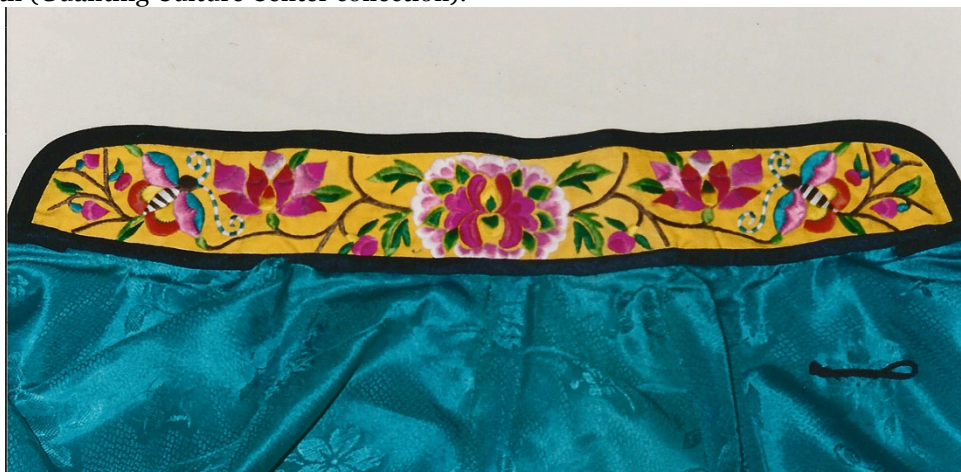
Figure 40. Pincushion made by La Neia.



Collars

A collar was a luxury item that daughters of poor families did not make. It was attached to either a short festive jacket or to a vest. A vest collar was made of simple cotton fabric or embroidered. The collar of a festive jacket was always embroidered (F41).

Figure 41. The collar of a festive jacket is made of yellow silk, embroidered in silk with floral motifs and lined with black cotton cloth (Guanting Culture Center collection).



Sleeve Decorations

Until the 1950s, women sewed 'fake sleeves' to their dresses. The sleeves were sewn of six to seven strips of different colors, giving the illusion that several gowns were worn. A wider strip in the middle was beautifully embroidered. I did not see any old 'fake sleeves' while interviewing, but in the Guanting Culture Center I saw new ones, made after old models (F42).

Figure 42. 'Fake sleeves' in a woman's dress, one pair decorated with embroidery (Guanting Culture Center collection).



Head Ornaments

Embroidered and bead-embellished head ornaments were worn on the forehead during weddings and on special occasions. I saw such a head ornament in the exhibition room in the Guanting Culture Center (F43), and another was introduced to me by Xin Youfang (b. 1940) in Baojia Village, who had prepared it a week before her wedding.

Figure 43. Head ornament (Guanting Culture Center collection).



Wallets

Wallets were usually wedding gifts, prepared by the bride. A wallet is about seven by twenty centimeters and has three folds (F44 and F45). The upper material is usually plain cotton fabric, and occasionally corduroy. Phoenixes, flowers, Chinese cabbages, and other themes were embroidered on the surface with back stitches using, commonly, green single core thread, although other colors were also used. The three inside pockets were embroidered in silk with motifs of flowers, Buddha's hand (fingered citron), butterflies, mice, and so on. The pocket mouths were finished with impressive dogteeth stitches and the edgings of the whole wallet were usually lined with a separate fabric strip sewn in back stitches or cross stitches.

Figures 44 (left) and 45 (right). (Left) an old wallet with three folds is closed with press-studs. The motifs of the wallet made by Li Baoshou include peonies on both sides and a pomegranate in the center. (Right) a wallet with three folds is decorated with narcissus, Buddha's hand, and a cat. The pocket is lined in dog's-tooth stitch and the edges with zigzag stitch (K. Stuart's collection).



Sashes

A long sash worn by men on ceremonial occasions was also an important wedding gift to the groom. It was about ten by 180 centimeters and made of plain cotton cloth with intricately embroidered ends featuring different pattern on both sides. An embroidered bag might also be attached to the sash (F46).

Figure 46. A man's festive sash. The ends of the sash are embroidered, with different patterns on both sides. The detachable pocket reflects the same flower motifs (Guanting Culture Center collection).



Caps

Caps made by mothers for their sons were very similar to caps used by Chinese emperors in ancient times (F47). The domed part of the hat is made of six pieces, and two red ribbons hang from the top, instead of a silk tassel used in an emperor's cap. The Mangghuer used to place an old Chinese coin on the top of the hat under the knot.

Figure 47. An exquisitely worked boy's hat with six segments at the dome, each containing an embroidered flower. Made by Xin Youfang.



Xin Youfang described making and decorating the hat:

First you cut six pieces and fix them together with small sticks. Then you make an edging strip and cut the models for flowers. Then you take a needle and thread and sew the flowers. Putting a coin above the hat under the knot is an old custom. Only this kind of coin can be used. Around the coin there are zigzag stitches. The knot above the coin brings health; it is some sort of prayer to the gods. The two ribbons hanging from the hat are purely decorative, as well as the sequins. Hats were made for children three years of age and older, and could be used as long as you wanted, even in old age. Hats, of course, were different in size. It took me about five days to make a hat.

Fan Holders

Fans are used in some villages during Nadun festivals in summer and Yanguo Festivals in winter. Men dance during Nadun for many hours and emphasize their steps by moving fans to the rhythm of drumbeats. When resting, the fan is slipped into the fan holder that hangs from the button of the costume. The fan holder is embroidered in silk thread on cotton fabric with different motifs on both sides (48).

Figure 48. E Shuping's fan holder, made by his wife.



Covers and Wall Hangings

Modern embroidery is represented by covers and wall hangings, embroidered using *duoke* technique. Quilts and pillows are folded on the *kang* neatly against the wall, and covered with an embroidered cloth when not in use. There may be three or four such bundles side by side, depending on how many people sleep on the *kang* (F49). Covers can also be used in front of an open shelf of a kitchen cabinet or on the TV to protect it from dust. The Mangghuer do not use tablecloths.

Figure 49. Modern embroidery is represented in the house of La Neia by covers and wall hangings, embroidered using *duoke* technique. The motifs from left to right: goldfish and flowers, tiger with peaches, and phoenix and peacock with flowers.



If the family has a young daughter-in-law, the back wall of the *kang* might be decorated with a long embroidered hanging, about one meter high and 2.5 meters long, made by the daughter-in-law for her trousseau and brought into her new home (F50 and F51).

Figure 50. Wall hanging in *duoke* technique featuring numerous auspicious symbols in the center pattern: Mandarin ducks, peonies, lotus, and Chinese characters stating *xingfu* (happiness) in the center, and *ronghuafugui* (prosperity) on the sides.⁸ Made by Jinzimei.



The material of covers and wall hangings is white cotton cloth and the embroidery thread is single unmercerized cotton thread with luminescent colors. The designs are larger and more diverse than in objects embroidered with the traditional *sa* technique, which consists mostly of flowers, birds, and butterflies. The covers and the hangings are often decorated with a variety of such longevity symbols as cranes and pine trees, with big flowers and goldfishes. More modern designs include panda bears and Disney-style fawns *a la* Bambi. There were also Chinese characters wishing good luck and long life.

Figure 51. A multicolored cover made in Chenjia Village, featuring many auspicious symbols embroidered in *duoke* technique: cranes, bats, butterflies, different flowers and the character *shuang xi* 'double happiness'.



⁸ While examining Mangghuer embroidery motifs, I realized that there were many patterns such as pomegranates, lotuses, peaches, mandarin ducks, cranes, pines, bamboo, and so on that are symbols of fertility, prosperity, harmonious marriage, and longevity in the Chinese context. However, when I asked the women who made such embroidery, they told me they did them because they regarded them as beautiful.

Burial Clothing

The coffin clothing (F52) includes long and short jackets, a pillow, shoes, possibly a chin rest, a hat for men, and a black headscarf for women.

Figure 52. Burial set for Zhu Changminghua: shoes for bound feet, a chin rest, and a long pillow with end panels with flower motif, all embroidered in *sa* technique with silk.



The deceased might be dressed in more than one gown, e.g., Nuo Shuangxihua showed me two long and three short funeral gowns, one of which was padded, because it is believed the deceased may become cold on the way to the afterlife. The colors of the gowns are blue, brown, black, bright red, or pink. An Liumei said the gown material should be valuable silk from "a good silk area," preferably from Sichuan (F53).

Figure 53. A couple from Heyan Village dressed in their funeral attire: short and long gowns of silk brocade. The woman's shoes are embroidered with a floral motif on the tip. The man's shoes are plain and black. The woman wears a black scarf and the man a felt hat.



The coffin pillow was a long pillow with embroidered ends, if the interviewees themselves made it (F54). If young daughters-in-law prepared the pillow, it was flat with an embroidered cover (F55). According to the Mangghuer, the coffin pillow must not include images of animals, birds, or butterflies. Generally, there were only flowers or a flower vase – a Chinese pictorial symbol for peace – with a boy on one side and a girl on the other, who escort the deceased to the afterlife. One holds a teapot, and the other holds a bowl or a tray with a big loaf of bread or steamed buns. The long pillow's fabric is cotton or silk and the colors are black, blue, brown, bright red, or yellow. The flat pillowcase is plain white cotton.

Figure 54. Nuo Shuangxihua's long burial pillow with a design of a flower vase – a symbol of peace – and a boy on one side and a girl on the other, who escort the deceased to the afterlife. One holds a teapot, and the other holds a bowl or a tray with a big loaf of bread or steamed buns.



Figure 55. A flat pillowcase for a funeral, worked in *duoke* technique by Ma Xiuying.



Among the flat shoes for the coffin, only one large flower was embroidered on the tip of the shoe. Men's funeral shoes are not embroidered (F56). A one or two *yuan* banknote was put into empty shoes, because it is believed empty shoes bring bad luck. Those who dress the deceased then took the money.

Figure 56. Black funeral shoes for men and two pairs of shoes for women with feet that were bound in the 1940s and then unbound in the 1950s. Heyan Village.



The funeral items in some villages include a small cushion to be put under the chin of the deceased to keep the mouth closed (F57). The chin rest is a small cylindrical cushion with a diameter of five to six centimeters. It will be put under the chin of the deceased to keep the mouth closed. The cushion itself is made of silk, and attached to round ends embroidered with flower patterns. A one *yuan* banknote was also put in the chin rest.

Figure 57. A chin rest – a small cylindrical cushion – is put under the chin of the deceased to keep the mouth closed. The material is silk brocade and the end panels are embroidered with a flower motif. Made by An Liumei.



STORING EMBROIDERED ITEMS

Old, embroidered articles prepared for the coffin were kept in a large cupboard standing on the *kang*, the modern 'trousseau chest'. The upper cabinets often had glass doors, through which beautifully folded thick silk quilts, often received as a wedding gift, were visible. The lower part of the cabinet was locked, but from this stash the women took out a bundle, which included beautiful ends of old long pillows, unfinished apron pockets and clothes made for their funeral. I photographed them and then these items were folded, carefully wrapped in a large scarf that was tied, and then the bundle was returned to the closet and locked up.

EMBROIDERY'S SIGNIFICANCE

In many traditional communities, craftsmanship and particularly sewing skills are part of a woman's virtue in addition to skills related to the household. Crafts provide practical benefit to the maker and a way to creatively express experiences enriching everyday life. The skill to sew and embroider among the Mangghuer has also had a particularly important role from the point of view of the community as well as of women. If a girl could not do embroidery it was difficult for her to find a husband who was considered an appropriate match based on the families' social position and economic condition.

While girls were instructed from childhood in the making of handicrafts, not all were equally adept. If a girl's embroidery work was poor and her family could afford it, skilled embroiders were hired. In the community, however, this was not viewed favorably because it meant a waste of resources. "In this case, one had to give thread and fabric to the maker, which meant the cost was twice as much thread and fabric as doing it yourself," recalled Lü Jinlianmei.

It was very important that the girl could embroider, because she had to prepare gifts for her wedding. If she could not, her parents were forced to buy embroidered items for the wedding, which was a waste of money. But if she had small feet, and she could make beautiful embroidery, then when the girl reached her groom's home the guests said, "Oh, that's a decent girl." If she did not know how to embroider, it was very difficult for her to find a husband (Zhu Guobao).

Skilled embroiderers were etched in the mind of other women so deeply that they were remembered after death. While admiring Li Baoshou's (b. 1936) embroidery I commented that she must be the best embroiderer in the village, to which Li Baoshou replied, "No, I'm not the best in this village. The best one was another grandmother, but she is dead."

A VANISHING TRADITION

The embroidered Mangghuer items were not only necessities – and thus economically important – but also significant demonstrations of a woman's virtue, which gave her higher status in her local community. These embroidered items acquired value and were transferred from generation to generation, from bride to bride. However, in the late twentieth century, when the articles for the wedding became something very different – flat pillows, covers and wall hangings – embroidered pillow ends lost their value. Mangghuer embroidery adapted to new challenges with new embroidery

techniques, such as *woke*, *duoke*, and *khuleghsi ganger*. Cross-stitch embroidery also gained new use in insoles.

Along with social and economic changes, girls have little time or interest in embroidery because of the time they spend watching TV, doing household chores, and doing school homework. However, in 2001 and 2002 in mountain villages, girls who had finished schooling still prepared *duoke*-embroidered items for their wedding, even though embroidered fabrics and other items were available in local shops. And whenever women had time, they prepared embroidered insoles and fabric shoes.

Embroidery has, for good reason, been the pride of Mangghuer culture and, in being passed through generations, has continued social relevance, reinforcing Mangghuer identity. Modernization, however, is progressing so rapidly that many of these traditional items and skills will soon vanish.

Take this pillow end (F58), so that it will remain, far away in your country, because nobody here among us cares about it anymore. After we are gone, it will be discarded (Bao Sibeihua, b. 1919).

Figure 58. Bao Sibeihua's pillow ends.



APPENDIX ONE: CONSULTANTS⁹

An Liumei, Guanting Village, b. 1941 in Anjia Village.
Bao Shiyuemei, b. 1932, Chenjia Village.
Bao Sibeihua, b. 1919, Nongchang Village, started embroidery at the age of seven.
Deng Sangmei, Wushi Village, b. 1924 in Dengjia Village.
Deng Xin Zhuangmei, b. 1941, Nanjiaterghai Village.
Dou Guanbaonuer, Wanzi Village, b. 1921 in Doujia Village.
Du Jinbaohua, b. 1929, Chenjiaola Village.
Hai Tao (male), b. 1946, Chenjia Village.
Jinzime, b. 1983, Puba Village.
Ku Yingchunlan, Guanzhong Village, b. 1920 in Xiakou Village.
La Neia, Lijia Village, b. 1923 in Jingning Village. Han nationality.
Li Baoshou, b. 1936, Xiela Village.
Lü Jinlianmei, b. 1922, Nongchang Village, started embroidery at the age of seven.
Lü Yingqing, b. 1920, Wangjia Village.
Ma Fanglan, b. 1945, Damajia Village. Hui nationality.
Ma Hanme, Jingning Village, b. 1920 in Kemuchuer Ling Village, started embroidery at the age of five.
Hui nationality.
Ma Luguya, b. 1941, Heyan Village. Hui nationality, spoke Chinese.
Ma Tianxi, b. 1930, Nongchang Village.
Ma Xiuying, b. 1964, Puba Village.
Nuo Shuangxihua, Zhujia Village, b. 1931 in Nuoja Village. Gave me a ring and "adopted" me as her little sister.
Qi Wenlan, b. ?, Chenjia Village.
Qiao Dongmei,¹⁰ b. 1916, Minzhu Village, started embroidery at the age of seven.
Wang Dongmeihua, b. 1919, Wenjia Village.
Wen Xiping, b. 1981, Wenjia Village.
Wu Lanyou, b. 1919, Qianjin Village.
Xie Yongshouhua, b. 1931, Luantashi Village.
Xin Youfang, Baojia Village, b. 1940 in Xinja Village.
Ying Zihua, b. 1935, Baojia Village.
Zan Yulan, b. 1920, Luantashi Village.
Zhang Chongsunhua, b. 1942 (in Keiximian Village in Gansu province), Heyan Village, started embroidery at the age of eight.
Zhang Xihua, b. 1982, Heyan Village.
Zhang Yinghua, Chenjiaola Village, b. 1944 in Keiximian, Gansu Province.
Zhao Guilan, b. 1962, Xiela Village.
Zhao Jinzihua, b. 1936, Shanzhaojia Village.
Zhao Xiuhua, b. 1949, Baojia Village, started embroidery at the age of eight.
Zhao Xiulan, b. 1936, Guanting Village.
Zhong [Zhang] Shumi, b. 1936, Luantashi Village.
Zhu Changminghua, b. 1920, Heyan Village.

⁹ All consultants are Mangghuer and female unless otherwise indicated.

¹⁰ I am now uncertain if this is the name of the mother (b. 1916) or her daughter.

Zhu Ernuer, b. 1965, Wushi Village, started embroidery at the age of eight.
Zhu Guobao, Wanzi Village, b. 1929 in Jielun Village.
Zhu Jinxiu, b. 1941, Puba Village.

APPENDIX TWO: MOTIFS

Animals

bat - cover/ hanging
bird - sole, insole, hat, wallet, pillowcase, pillow ends
butterfly - apron pocket, cover/ hanging, pincushion, fan holder, collar, sole, insole, heel piece, shoes,
head ornament, hat, wallet, pillowcase, sash, vest pocket, pillow ends
cat - vest pocket, pillow ends
caterpillar - vest pocket
crane - apron pocket, cover/ hanging
deer - apron pocket, cover/ hanging, wallet, vest pocket
dragon - hanging, hat, wallet, pillow ends for funeral, pillow ends
dragonfly - vest pocket, pillowcase
duck - vest pocket, pillow ends
fawn - cover/ hanging
fish - apron pocket, shoes, sash ends, vest pocket, pillow ends
goldfishes - cover/ hanging
lion - vest pocket, pillow ends
magpie - cover/ hanging
Mandarin ducks - cover/ hanging, pillowcase
monkey - pillow ends
mouse - wallet
panda - cover
peacock - cover/ hanging, pillowcase
peacock's tail - shoes for bound feet
pheasant - cover/ hanging, wallet, vest pocket, pillow ends
phoenix - cover/ hanging, insoles, wallet, vest pocket, pillowcase, pillow ends
rabbit - apron pocket
spider - shoes for bound feet
tiger - cover/ hanging
toad - apron pocket

Plants

bamboo - cover/ hanging, pillow end
Buddha's hand¹¹ - apron pocket, fan holder, shoes for bound feet, wallet, pillow ends for funeral, sash,

¹¹ This is also known as 'finger lemon flower' (<http://www.powerhousemuseum.com/collection/database/?irn=379850>, accessed 14 March 2012).

vest pocket, pillow ends
 cherry blossom - cover/ hanging, pillow ends
 Chinese cabbage - apron pocket, heel pieces
 chrysanthemum - cover/ hanging, pincushion, fan holder, heel pieces, shoes, shoes for bound feet, sash, hat, pillow ends for funeral, pillow case, sash, vest pocket, pillow ends
 flower - boot heel pieces, insole, wallet, vest pocket, pillowcase
 grape - cover/ hanging, pillow cover, pincushion, fan holder, pillowcase
 lily - pillow ends
 lotus - apron pocket, cover/ hanging, collar, sole, heel pieces, shoes, shoes for bound feet, hat, wallet, pillow ends for funeral, chin rest, pillowcase, sash pocket, vest pocket, pillow ends
 narcissus - cover/ hanging, heel pieces, shoes for bound feet, wallet, pillowcase, vest pocket, pillow ends
 carnation - vest pocket, pillowcase
 peach - apron pocket, cover/ hanging, insoles, vest pocket, pillow ends
 peony - apron pocket, cover/ hanging, pincushion, collar, sole, insoles, heel pieces, shoes, shoes for bound feet, head ornament, wallet, hat, pillow ends for funeral, chin rest, pillowcase, vest pocket, pillow ends
 pine - cover/ hanging
 plum blossom - cover/ hanging, pincushion, fan holder, heel pieces, shoes, shoes for bound feet, hat, pillowcase, vest pocket, pillow ends
 plum tree - pillowcase, sash, cover/ hanging
 pomegranate - pincushion, fan holder, shoes for bound feet hat, wallet, sash, vest pocket, pillow ends
 rose - pillow case, sash pocket, vest pocket, pillow ends

Others

bamboo tube with rods - heel pieces
 boy and girl carrying tea and bread - pillow ends and pillowcases for funeral
 cash - apron pocket, vest pocket, pillow ends
 clouds - cover/ hanging
 endless knot - shoes for bound feet
 flower basket/ vase - cover/ hanging, pillow cover
 Gold Mountain - pillow end
 gourd - heel pieces
 heart - apron pocket, insoles
 lozenge - insoles in *khuleghsi ganger* stitching
 mountain - cover/ hanging
ruyi scepter - heel pieces
 scrolls - wallet, heel pieces
 Silver Mountain - pillow end
 sun - cover/ hanging
 vajra - vest pocket, pillow ends

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¹ The xylograph is kept at the Zhongguo shehui kexuyuan minzu xue yu renlei xue yanjiusuo tushuguan 'Library of the Research Institute for Ethnology and Anthropology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences' located on the campus of Minzu University, Beijing. A low quality scan is kept by the China Tibetology Research Center in Beijing

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'a འ	Ba bOng chos rje བ་བོང་ཆོས་རྗེ
'Bras spungs འབྲས་སྤྲུངས་	Ba bzang བ་བཟང་
'Bras spungs Sgo mang འབྲས་སྤྲུངས་སྒོ་མང་	Ba rdzong ri lang བ་རྫོང་རི་ལང་
'Bri འབྲི	Ba yan rdzong བ་ཡན་རྫོང་
'cham འཆམ	Badaoshan 八达山
'don chos spyod འདོན་ཆོས་སྟོད་	bagua 八卦
'dul ba'i bkod gzhung rgyas pa འདུལ་བའི་བཀོད་གཞུང་རྒྱས་པ་	baihu 百户
'Dul ba'i mdo tsa ba འདུལ་བའི་མདོ་ཙ་བ་	Baima Si 白马寺
'Dzam gling spyi bsang འཛམ་གླིང་སྤྱི་བསང་	Baima Tianjiang 白马天将
'dzin grwa gong nas bzhed srol yod འཛིན་གྲ་གོང་ནས་བཞེད་སྟོན་ཡོད་	Ban de rgyal བན་དེ་རྒྱལ་
'e ren འེ་རེན་	Ban Guo 班果
'Gag rdo rtags འགག་རྟོན་རྟགས་	Bang rgya བང་རྒྱ
'gro འགོ	bankang 板炕
'Jigs med ye shes grags pa འཇིགས་མེད་ཡེ་ཤེས་གྲགས་པ་	Bao Shiyuemei 鲍十月梅
'Ju lag འཇུ་ལག་	Bao Sibeihua 鲍四辈花
'tshogs gleng ཆོགས་གླེང་	Bao Yizhi 鲍义志
A Chaoyang 阿朝阳	Bao'an, Bonan 保安
A Jinlu 阿进录	baobei 宝贝
A khu 'Jigs med ཨ་ཁུ་འཇིགས་མེད་	Baojia 保家
A khu Blo gros ཨ་ཁུ་བློ་གྲོས་	Bazangou 巴藏沟
A lags Brag dkar tshang ཨ་ལགས་བྲག་དཀར་ཆང་	Bāzhōu/ Bazhou 巴州
A mdo ཨ་མདོ་	bca' yig chen mo བཅའ་ཡིག་ཆེན་མོ་
A myes Ba rdzong ཨ་མྱེས་བ་རྫོང་	Bcu ba'i lnga mchod བཅུ་པ་འི་ལྔ་མཆོད་
A myes Btsan rgod ཨ་མྱེས་བཙན་རྟོན་	Beijing 北京
A myes Gnyan chen ཨ་མྱེས་གཉན་ཆེན་	Ben Chengfang 贲成芳
A Rong 阿荣	Binkangghuali, Binkanggou 本康沟
Āchái 阿柴	bgro gleng བགོ་གླེང་
ahong 阿訇	Bi Yanjun 毕艳君
Alai 阿来	Bingling Si 炳灵寺
Alashan 阿拉善	binkang/ Binkang, 'bum khang འབྲུམ་ཁང་
An Liumei 安六梅	benkang 本康
Anjia 安家	Bis ba mi pham ngag dbang zla ba བིས་བ་མི་ཕམ་ངག་དབང་བླ་བ་
Āxià 阿夏	bka' བཀའ་
	bka' bcu བཀའ་བཅུ་

bka' rgya ma བཀའ་རྒྱུ་མ
Bka' rtse stong བཀའ་རྩེ་སྟོང་
Bkra shis 'bum 'khyil བླ་བྱ་བླ་མ་གྱིས་འབྲུམ་འབྲིལ་
Bkra shis lhun po བཀའ་གྱིས་ལྷན་པོ་
Bkra shis sgo mang བཀའ་གྱིས་སྒོ་མང་
Bla brang བླ་བྱ་བླ་མ་
Bla brang bkra shis 'khyil བླ་བྱ་བླ་མ་གྱིས་འབྲིལ་
bla ma བླ་མ་
bla ma dge skos rnams nyis thad ka thad ka'i
rgyug len pa dang / gsar du 'jog pa
sogs being bskul gyi do dam gang drag
byed བླ་མ་དག་གིས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱི་ཐད་ཀྱི་རྒྱུ་ལེན་པ་
 དང་། གསར་དུ་འཛིན་པ་སོགས་བཅིང་བསྐྱུལ་གྱི་དོན་མ་གང་དག་
 ཟུང་།
bla ma gzhung las pa བླ་མ་གཞུང་ལས་པ་
bla ma khri pa བླ་མ་ཁྲི་པ་
bla spyi sogs khag bzhi བླ་སྤྱི་སོགས་ཁག་བཞི་
blo བློ་
Blo brtan rdo rje བློ་བརྟན་རྡོ་རྗེ་
Blo bzang 'jam pa'i tshul khirms, Wang
 Khutugtu ལུང་རྒྱུ་ཐོག་ལྷ་མོ་བཟང་འཇམ་པའི་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་
Blo bzang bstan 'dzin བློ་བཟང་བསྟན་འཛིན་
Blo bzang dar rgyas rgya mtsho བློ་བཟང་དར་རྒྱལ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་
Blo bzang snyan grags བློ་བཟང་སྟན་གྲགས་
Blo bzang tshul khirms dar rgyas rgya mtsho
 བློ་བཟང་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་དར་རྒྱལ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་
Blo bzang ye shes rgya mtsho བློ་བཟང་ཡེ་ཤེས་རྒྱ་མཚོ་
Blo bzang ye shes rgya mtsho, Lcang skya IV
 ལུང་སྐུ་མོ་བཟང་ཡེ་ཤེས་རྒྱ་མཚོ་
blo rigs བློ་རིགས་
blo rtags gnyis བློ་རྟགས་གཉིས་
blon po བློན་པོ་
Bod ljongs spyi tshogs tshan rig khang chos
 lugs zhib 'jug tshan pa'i 'bras spungs
 dgon dkar chag rtsom sgrig tshogs
 chung བོད་རྫོངས་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཚན་རིག་ཁང་ཚས་ལུགས་ཞིབ་

འཇུག་ཚན་པའི་འབྲུམ་སྤྱངས་དགོན་དཀར་ཆག་ཚོམ་སྤྱི་གཙུག་ཚོགས་
 རྒྱུང་
Bod skor བོད་སྐོར་
Bon བོན་
bong gu བོང་གུ་
Brag dgon zhabs drung འབྲུག་དགོན་ཞབས་རྒྱུང་
brtsi bzhag བརྩི་བཞག་
bsam 'byed བསམ་འབྱེད་
Bsam blo khang tshan བསམ་བློ་ཁང་ཚན་
Bsam gtan sbyin pa བསམ་གཏན་སྤྱིན་པ་
bsang བསང་
bsang mchod བསང་མཚོད་
bsdus 'bring བསྐྱུས་འབྲིང་
bsdus chung བསྐྱུས་ཚུང་
bsdus grwa བསྐྱུས་གྲ་
bsdus grwa che chung བསྐྱུས་གྲ་ཆེ་ཚུང་
 བསེ་
bsgro gleng བསྐྱོ་གླིང་
bshad grwa བཤད་གྲ་
bshad sgrub bstan pa'i byung gnas
 བཤད་སྐྱུབ་བསྟན་པའི་བྱུང་གནས་
bskang gso བསྐྱང་གསོ་
bsod btags legs pa བསོད་བཏགས་ལེགས་པ་
Bsod noms mgon po བསོད་ནམས་མགོན་པོ་
Bstan pa chos 'byor བསྟན་པ་ཚས་འབྱོར་
Bstan pa chos 'phel བསྟན་པ་ཚས་འཕེལ་
Bstan pa rgya mtsho བསྟན་པ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་
btsan khang བཅེན་ཁང་
btsan par ma བཅེན་པར་མ་
btsan po བཅེན་པོ་
Btsan po Don grub rgya mtsho བཅེན་པོ་དོན་གྲུབ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་
Btsan po no mon han/ Btsan po no min han
 བཅེན་པོ་ཚོ་མིན་ཏན/ བཅེན་པོ་ཚོ་མིན་ཏན་
Btsan rgod བཅེན་རྟོད་
Bu su he བུ་སུ་ཧེ་
Bu'u hrin བུ་འུ་མིན་
Bya khyung བྱ་ཁྱུང་

Byams pa nor bu བྱམས་པ་ནོར་བུ
 Byang chub བྱང་ཆུབ
 Byang chub lam gyi rim pa'i dmar khrid thams
 cad mkhyen par bgrod pa'i bde lam
 བྱང་ཆུབ་ལམ་གྱི་རིམ་པའི་དམར་ཁྲིད་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁྱེན་པར་བ
 སྐྱོད་པའི་བདེ་ལམ
 Byang du lhag pa བྱང་དུ་ལྷག་པ
 Byang rar du spen pa བྱང་རར་དུ་སྤྲོན་པ
 Byang thang བྱང་ཐང
 Bza' ri tshang བཟའ་རི་ཆང
 bzlog pa བཟླག་པ
 Cai Jingping 蔡金萍
 Cai Yong'e 蔡永峨
 Cha yas ཇམ་ཡས
 chab ril pa ཇམ་རིལ་པ
 Cháhǎnménggǔ'ér 察罕蒙古尔
 chang ba lu ཇམ་བ་ལུ
 Chang Ping 常平
 Chang'an 长安
 Chen Mei 陈镁
 chen po hor gyi yul ཆེན་པོ་རྟོར་གྱི་ཡུལ
 Chengde 承德
 Chenjia 陈家
 Chenjiaola 陈交拉
 Chileb, Chile 赤列
 Chinan Dewen Zanpu 赤南德温赞普
 Chinan Dewen 赤南德温
 Cho 'phrul ཇོ་འཕྲུལ
 Chongli 崇礼
 chos grwa ཇོས་གྲ་
 chos grwa ba/ pa ཇོས་གྲ་བ/ པ
 chos lugs pa ཇོས་ལུགས་པ
 chos mtshams ཇོས་མཚམས
 chos r(w)a ཇོས་ར་ཇོས་རྒྱ
 chos rje ཇོས་རྗེ
 Chos skor ཇོས་སྐོར
 chos thog ཇོས་ཐོག

chos thog snga ma'i rtsis bzhag gi rgyugs chos
 thog rjes mar dka' ram ma gtog pa
 thams cad la len zhing ཇོས་ཐོགས་སྐུ་མའི་རྩིས་
 བཞག་གི་རྒྱགས་ཇོས་ཐོག་རྗེས་མར་དཀའ་རམ་མ་གཏོག་པ་ཐམ
 ས་ཅད་ལ་ལོན་ཞིང
 chu bdag ཇུ་བདག
 Chu bzang ཇུ་བཟང
 Chuanhuang Erlang 川黄二郎
 Chuankou 川口
 Ci byed du song ཅི་བྱེད་དུ་སོང
 Ci si khe ཅི་སི་ཁེ
 Cin ci dmag ཅིན་ཅི་དམག
 Co ne ཅོ་ནེ
 Cu'u hrin ཅུ་འུ་ཁྲིན
 Cuī Yǒnghóng 崔永红
 d+ha rma bu ti lba rta ལྷ་མ་བུ་ཏི་ལ་ར་རྟ་
 da das ད་དས
 Daban 达坂
 Dádá 达达
 Daihai 岱海
 Dala 达拉
 dam bca' དམ་བཅའ
 dam bca' chen mo དམ་བཅའ་ཆེན་མོ
 Damajia 大马家
 Dámín 达民
 Dan tig དན་ཏིག
 dang po དང་པོ
 Danma 丹麻
 Danyan, Luoergou 洛儿沟
 daoren 道人
 Dar rgya དར་རྒྱ
 Dar rgya ri lang དར་རྒྱ་རི་ལང
 Darkhan, dar han དར་ཀན
 Dasi 大寺
 Dàtóng 大同
 Dàtōng, Datong 大通
 Datong he 大通河

Datongping 大墩坪
 dbu mdzad དབུ་མཛད
 dbus gtsang དབུས་གཙང་
 Dbyen bsdums དབྱེན་བསྐྱུམས་
 de'i 'phror gang len zhig tu long dgos babs la
 ltas nas longs དེའི་འཕྱར་གང་ལེན་ཞིག་ཏུ་ལོང་དགོས་
 བབས་ལ་ལྟས་ནས་ལོངས་
 Deng Sangmei 邓桑梅
 Deng Xinzhuangmei 邓新庄花
 Dengjia 邓家
 Dga' ldan དགའ་ལྷན་
 Dga' ldan byams pa gling
 དགོན་ལྷངས་དགའ་ལྷན་བྱམས་པ་གླིང་
 Dga' ldan pho brang དགའ་ལྷན་པོ་བྲང་
 dge ldan bstan 'bar ma'i dbu bskul
 ba དགེ་ལྷན་བསྐྱུང་འབར་མའི་དབུ་བསྐྱུལ་བ་
 Dge དགེ
 Dge ldan དགེ་ལྷན་
 Dge lugs དགེ་ལུགས་
 dge skos དགེ་སྐོས་
 dge skul དགེ་སྐུལ་
 Dgon lung དགོན་ལུང་ (Rgulang, Guolongsi 郭隆寺,
 Erh-ku-lung, Yu-ning, Youning 佑宁)
 Dgon lung bca' yig chen mo དགོན་ལུང་བཅའ་ཡིག་ཆེན་མོ་
 Dgon lung byams pa gling དགོན་ལུང་བྱམས་པ་གླིང་
 dgon pa spyi དགོན་པ་སྤྱི་
 dgon pa'i sgrigs 'og tu yod do cog དགོན་པའི་
 སྤྱིགས་འགྲུ་ཡོད་དོ་ཅོག་
 Dgra lha bcu gsum དག་ལྷ་བརྒྱ་གསུམ་
 Dgu དགུ་
 Dgu chu དགུ་ཚུ་
 dīdī 的的
 dka' bcu rab 'byams pa དཀར་བར་རབ་བྱམས་པ་
 dka' bcu དཀར་བརྒྱ་
 dka' rab 'byams དཀར་རབ་བྱམས་
 dka' ram དཀར་རམ་
 dka' rams དཀར་རམས་

dkar yol དཀར་ཡོལ་
 Dkon mchog bstan pa rab
 rgyas དཀོན་མཆོག་བསྐྱེད་པ་རབ་རྒྱས་
 Dkon mchog dar rgyas དཀོན་མཆོག་དར་རྒྱས་
 Dkon mchog skyabs དཀོན་མཆོག་སྐྱབས་
 dkyus དཀྱུས་
 Dmag dpon pi tsi ri lang དམག་དཔོན་པི་ཅི་རི་ལང་
 dmag rtsed དམག་རེད་
 Dmar gtsang དམར་གཙང་
 Dmar gtsang brag དམར་གཙང་བྲག་
 Dmar gtsang rta chen po དམར་གཙང་རྟ་ཆེན་པོ་
 Dme དམེ
 Dme shul དམེ་ཤུལ་
 Dngul rwa དངུལ་རྩ་
 Don 'grub འོན་འགྲུབ་
 don rtogs pa འོན་རྟོགས་པ་
 Don yod chos kyi rgya mtsho འོན་ཡོད་ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་མཚོ་
 Dong Yongxue 东永学
 Dongdanma 东丹麻
 Donggou 东沟
 Donghe 东和
 Dongshan 东山
 Dongxiang 东乡
 Dor bhi tis bang འོར་བྷི་ཏིས་བང་
 Dor rdo འོར་རོ་
 Dor sde འོར་སྡེ་
 Dor skad འོར་སྐད་
 Dor tis འོར་ཏིས་
 Dou Guanbaonuer 窦官保女儿
 Dòu Wényǔ 窦文语
 dou 斗
 Doujia 窦家
 Dpa' ris དཔའ་རིས་
 Dpa' ris ba དཔའ་རིས་བ་
 Dpa' ris tshe ring don 'grub དཔའ་རིས་ཆེན་འོར་དོན་འགྲུབ་
 Dpal chen stobs rgyas དཔལ་ཆེན་སྐྱབས་རྒྱས་
 Dpal ldan bkra shis དཔལ་ལྷན་བརྒྱ་ཤིས་

Dpal ldan dar rgyas དཔལ་ལྷན་དར་རྒྱས
 Dpal rtse rgyal དཔལ་རྩེ་རྒྱལ་
 Dpal snar thang gi bca' yig 'dul khrims dngos
 brgya 'bar ba'i gzi 'od [dang / rwa
 sgreng / dgon lung byams pa gling
 dgon ma lag bcas kyi bca' yig]
 དཔལ་སྐྱར་ཐང་གི་བཅའ་ཡིག་འདུལ་བྱིས་དངོས་བརྒྱུ་འབར་བ
 འི་གཟི་འོད་དང་། རུ་སྤྱང་། དགོན་ལུང་བྱམས་པ་སྤྱིང་དགོན་མ་
 ལག་བཅས་ཀྱི་བཅའ་ཡིག་།
 Dpung nge ri lang དཔུང་ངེ་རི་ལང་
 Dri med yon tan འི་མེད་ཡོན་ཏན་
 drug ba ལྷུག་བ་
 Dū Chángshùn 杜常顺
 Du Jinbaohua 杜金保花
 Duluun, Baiya 白崖
 Dung dkar ལྷུང་དཀར་
 Dung dkar blo bzang 'phrin las
 ལྷུང་དཀར་ལྷོ་བཟང་འཕྲིན་ལས་
 dur mchod ལྷུར་མཆོད་
 Durishidii, Duoshidai 多士代
 dus chen ལུས་ཆེན་
 Duwa, Duowa 多哇
 Dwags po ལྷགས་པོ་
 E Shuangxihua, Nuo Shuangxihua 鄂双喜花
 E'érdān 额尔丹
 Ershisanhao 二十三号
 fala 法拉
 fan 幡
 Fangtuu, Qianbangou 前半沟
 Farishidin, Xingjia 星家
 Faxian 法显
 Fojiao 佛教
 Foorijang, Huoerjun 霍尔郡
 Fujia, Hulijia 胡李家
 g.yang གཡང་
 g.yang 'bod གཡང་འབོད་
 G.yang can rdo rje གཡང་ཙན་རྫོང་།

g.yo sgyu'i sbyor ba གཡོ་སྐུའི་སྤྱོར་བ་
 gab gzahags གཁ་གཞགས་
 gab gzahags na thong གཁ་གཞགས་ན་ཐོང་
 Gamaka 尕马卡
 Gan'gou, Gangou 甘沟
 ganda 干大
 Ganjia 甘家
 Gannan 甘南
 Gānsù, Gansu 甘肃
 Gansu xin tongzhi 甘肃新通志
 Gānsù-Qīnghǎi-Níngxià 甘肃-青海-宁夏
 Ganzhou 甘州
 Gaochang 高昌
 Gaodian 高店
 Gāozǔ 高祖
 Gar rtse sdong གར་རྩེ་སྟོང་
 Gashari 尕沙日
 Gcan tsha གཅན་ཅ་
 Gcan tsha གཅན་ཅ།, Jianzha 尖扎
 Gdugs dkar གདུགས་དཀར་
 Ge sar གེ་སར་
 Ge sar dmag gi rgyal po གེ་སར་དམག་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ་
 Ge sar tshi me གེ་སར་ཅི་མེ་
 Gélètè 格勒特
 Gèrìlètú 格日勒图
 Glang dar ma གླང་དར་མ་
 gling bsres གླིང་བསྐྱེས་
 gling bsres ba གླིང་བསྐྱེས་བ་
 gling bsres dka' bcu གླིང་བསྐྱེས་དཀར་བཅུ་
 Gling bza' thar mdo skyid གླིང་བཟང་ཐར་མདོ་སྐྱིད་
 glo གློ་
 Glu rol གླུ་རོལ་
 gnas bdag གནས་བདག་
 gnyan གཉན་
 Gnyan chen གཉན་ཆེན་
 Gnyan po smad cha dmar can གཉན་པོ་སྐད་ཆ་དམར་ཅན་
 Gnyan po'i sgar thog གཉན་པོའི་སྐར་ཐོག་

Gnyan thog གཡན་ཐོག
 Gnyan thog 'brog གཡན་ཐོག་འབྲོག
 Gnyan thog la kha གཡན་ཐོག་ལ་ཁ
 Gnyan thog mkhar གཡན་ཐོག་མཁར
 Go bu me khrin གོ་བུ་མེ་ཁྲིན་བྱུ་བྱིན
 Go bu me tu hu sun khrin གོ་བུ་མེ་རུ་ཁུ་སུན་བྱིན
 go thang གོ་ཐང
 Go'u sde གོ་འུ་སྡེ
 Gol su གོ་སུ
 Gong sa rin po che གོང་ས་རིན་པོ་ཆེ
 gos sku གོས་སྐུ
 Gru kha'i གུ་ཁའི
 grwa 'gyed གྲལ་འགྱེད
 grwa rgyun གྲལ་རྒྱུན
 grwa skor གྲལ་སྐོར
 grwa tshang bla ma གྲལ་ཚང་བླ་མ
 Gsang bdag གསང་བདག
 Gsang phu གསང་ཕུ
 gsar གསར
 Gser chen gzhung གསེར་ཆེན་གཞུང
 Gser khog གསེར་ཁོག
 gser yig གསེར་ཡིག
 gser yig chen mo'i mtshan byang
 གསེར་ཡིག་ཆེན་མོའི་མཆན་བྱང
 gtam dpe གཏམ་དཔེ
 gtor ma གཏོར་མ
 Guan Laoye 官老爷
 Guangdong 广东
 Guanting 官亭
 Guanyin Pusa 观音菩萨
 Guanzhong 官中
 Guide 贵德
 Guihuacheng 歸化成
 Guishe erjiang 龟蛇二将
 Guisui-Suiyuan 歸綏綏遠
 Guō'érduǒ 郭尔朵
 Guō'érduǒ dīdī' 郭尔朵的的

Guōlóng 郭隆
 Guomari 郭麻日
 Gushan 古鄯
 Gusiluo 哱廝罗
 Gyang bzhi གྱང་བཞི
 Gyen 'dzi ri lang གྱེན་འཛི་རི་ལང
 Gyi ling mkhar གྱི་ལིང་མཁར
 Gza' brgyad གཙལ་བརྒྱད
 Gza' mchog གཙལ་མཆོག
 gzhung las pa གཞུང་ལས་པ
 Ha Mingzong 哈明宗
 Hai Tao 海濤
 Haidong 海东
 Hainan 海南
 Haixi 海西
 Haja, Hajia 哈家
 Halazhigou 哈拉直沟
 Hami 哈密
 Hàn, Han 汉
 Handi, Hantai 旱台
 Hanyu Pinyin 汉语拼音
 Haomen he 浩門河
 Har gdong khang tshan ཧར་གདོང་ཁང་ཚན
 Hara Bulog, Heiguan 黑泉
 Hé-Huáng 河湟
 Hé'ér 合儿
 Hè'ér 贺尔
 Hebei 河北
 Heidinggou 黑顶沟
 Heihu Linggunang 黑虎灵光
 Heima Zushi 黑马祖师
 Heishui 黑水
 Hejia 何家
 Helang Yexian 何朗业贤¹
 Henan 河南

¹ [A Tibetan name, thus the Chinese characters are conjectural.]

Heqing 合庆
 Heyan 河沿
 Hézhōu 河州
 Hgarilang, Huangcaogou 黄草沟
 Hgunbin, Kumbum, Sku 'bum Byams pa gling
 ལྷ་འབྲུམ་བྱམས་པ་སྒྲིང་, Ta'er 塔尔
 honghua 宏化
 Hongnai 红崖
 Hóngwǔ, Hongwu 洪武
 Hóngyá 红崖
 Hongyazigou 红崖子沟
 hor, Hor ཁོར
 Hor bza' hu sun khrin ཁོར་བཟའ་རྩ་སྐྱུ་མཁའ་ཁྱིན
 hor chen ཁོར་ཆེན
 Hor dor nag po ཁོར་དོར་ནག་པོ་
 Hor dor rta ཁོར་དོར་རྩ་
 Hor dor rta nag po gnyan po smad char dmar
 can ཁོར་དོར་རྩ་ནག་པོ་གཉན་པོ་སྐྱེད་ཆར་དམར་ཅན
 Hor gnyan po mung khe gan ཁོར་གཉན་པོ་མུང་ཁེ་གན
 Hor nag ཁོར་ནག
 Hor o chi go bu me thu me lun
 ཁོར་ཨ་ཆེ་གོ་བུ་མེ་ཐུ་མེ་ལུང་
 Hor rgya ཁོར་རྩ་
 hor rgyal ཁོར་རྩལ་
 Hor se chen ཁོར་སེ་ཆེན
 Hor spun zla ཁོར་སྐུན་བྲེ
 Hor tho lung ཁོར་ཐོ་ལུང་
 Hu Fang 胡芳
 Hu su ho ཁུ་སུ་ཧོ་
 Hu Yanhong 胡艳红
 Huáng 惶
 Huangdi 皇帝
 Huangfan 黄番
 Huangnan 黄南
 Huangnan zangzu zizhizhou tongjiju 黄南藏族
 自治州统计局
 Huangshui 湟水

Huangsi 黄寺
 Huangyuan 湟源
 Huangzhong 湟中
 Huárè 华热
 Huarin, Hualin 桦林
 Huhehaote 呼和浩特
 Hui 回
 Hulijia 胡李家
 Hún 浑
 Hunan 湖南
 Huolu Jiangjun 火炉将军
 Húsījǐng 胡斯井
 Hùzhù, Huzhu 互助
 Huzhu Tuzu zizhi xian 互助土族自治县
 Hxin, Hashi 哈什
 ja khang རྩ་ཁང་
 Janba, Wangjia 汪家
 Janba Taiga, Zhanjiatai 湛家台
 Jangja, Zhangjia 张家
 Jangwarima, Yatou 崖头
 Jí 吉
 Jiading 加定
 Jiajia 贾加
 Jiang Kexin 姜可欣
 Jiangsu 江苏
 Jianwen 建文
 Jianzha 尖扎
 jiashen 家神
 Jidi Majia 吉狄马加
 Jielong 结龙
 Jihua shengyu 计划生育
 jihua shengyu bangongshi 计划生育办公室
 Jiirinbuqii, Tsong kha pa རྩོད་ཁ་པ་, Zongkaba 宗喀
 巴
 Jilog, Jiaoluo 角落
 jìn 市斤
 Jīn Yù 金玉

Jinbu, Junbu 军部
 Jindan dao 金丹道
 Jingning 静宁
 Jinzimei 金子梅
 Jishi 积石
 Jiutian Shengmu Niangniang 九天圣母娘娘
 jo bo ཇོབོ
 juan 卷
 Jughuari, Zhuoke 桌科
 ka bcu ཀ་བཙུ
 Ka dar skyid ཀ་དར་སྐྱིད
 ka par nas bshad pa ཀ་པར་ནས་བཤད་པ
 Ka rab ཀ་རབ
 Kaile meiyu 开了没有
 Kailu Jiangjun 开路将军
 Kan lho ཀན་ལྷོ
 Kanchow, Ganzhou 赣州
 kang 炕
 Kāngxī, Kangxi 康熙
 Kemuchuer Ling, Kemuchu Ling 克木楚岭
 kha btags ཁ་བདག་པ།, hada 哈达
 Khams ཁམས
 Khenpo Ngawang Dorjee མཁན་པོ་དགའ་དབང་དོར་ཇེ
 khri ba bla brang ཁྲི་བ་བླ་བརྟན
 khrid ཁྲིད
 Khu lung ལུ་ལུང
 khyad chos ལྟན་ཆོས
 Khyod gang la song rgyu ལྟོད་གང་ལ་སྟང་རྒྱུ
 Khyod kha sang gang du song ལྟོད་ཁ་སང་གང་དུ་སྟང
 kla glo ལྷ་ལྷོ
 kla klo ལྷ་ལྷོ
 Klu 'bum tshe ring ལུ་བུམ་ཙམ་རིང
 Klu rol ལུ་རོལ
 klu rtsed ལུ་རྩེད
 Klu'i ལུ་འི
 klu'u ri ལུ་འུ་རི
 Ko'u mol ri lang ཀོ་འུ་མོལ་རི་ལང

Kong Lingling 孔林林
 Krang co hrin ཀྲང་ཙོ་མྲིན
 Ku Yingchunlan 库迎春兰
 Kun dga' bkra shis ཀུན་དགའ་བརྒྱ་ཤེས
 kun slong ཀུན་སྟོང
 Kuòduān 阔端
 Kuxin, Huzichang 胡子场
 kyus ལུས
 La ལ
 La Erhua 喇二花
 La Nuer, Ernü 喇二女
 lab rtse ལབ་རྩེ
 Lailiao meiyu 来了没有
 Lajia 喇家
 Lama Tangseng, Xuanzang 玄奘
 Lamaguan 喇嘛官
 Langja, Langjia 浪加
 Lanzhou 兰州
 Lǎoyā 老鸦
 Laoyeshan 老爷山
 laozher 老者
 Laozhuang 老庄
 Lashizi Kayari (Heidinggou 黑沟顶)
 Lawa 拉哇
 lba ལཔ
 Lcags mo tshe ring ལཱ་གས་མོ་ཙམ་རིང
 Lcang skya ལཱ་སྐལ་ལྷུ
 Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje ལཱ་སྐལ་རོལ་པའི་རྡོ་རྗེ
 Ledu 乐都
 Lha babs ལྷ་བབས
 Lha btsun Mthu stobs nyi ma ལྷ་བཙུན་མཐུ་སྟོབས་ལྷི་མ
 lha bzo ba ལྷ་བཙོབ
 Lha mo skyid ལྷ་མོ་སྐྱིད
 lha pa, Lha pa ལྷ་པ
 lha rams pa ལྷ་རམས་པ
 lha rams pa dge bshes ལྷ་རམས་པ་དགེ་བཤེས
 lha rtsed ལྷ་རྩེད

Lha sa ལ་ས
 lha'i sgrub thabs ལྷ་འི་སྒྲུབ་ཐབས
 Lho nub du skra gcan ལྷོ་ལུབ་དུ་སྐྱ་གཙན
 Lhor phur bu ལྷོར་ཕུར་བུ
 Lǐ 李
 li 里
 Li Baoshou 李保寿
 Li Cunxiao 李存孝
 Li Dechun 李得春
 Li Fumei 李富梅
 Li Jinwang 李晉王 AKA, Li Keyong 李克用
 Li Jinwang 李晋王
 Li Lizong 李立遵
 Li Peng 李鹏
 Li Qingchuan 李青川
 Li Xiande 李贤德
 Li Xinghua 李兴花
 Li Yaozu 李耀祖
 Li Yuanhao 李元昊
 Li yul ལི་ཡུལ
 Li Zhanguo 李占国
 Li Zhanzhong 李占忠
 Li Zhonglin 李钟霖
 Li Zhuoma 李卓玛
 liang 兩
 Liangcheng 凉成
 Liángzhōu, Liangzhou 凉州
 Liǎodōng 辽东
 Liaoning 辽宁, 遼寧
 libai si 礼拜寺
 Lijia 李家
 Limusishiden, Li Dechun 李得春
 Lingle Huangdi 领乐皇帝
 Lintao 临洮
 Liu Daxian 刘大先
 Liuja, Liujia 柳家
 Lizong 立遵

lkugs pa ལུགས་པ
 lnga ལྔ
 Lnga mchod ལྔ་མཚན
 Lo brgya ལོ་བརྒྱ
 Lo lha ལོ་ལྷ
 Lo ལོ
 Lo sar ལོ་སར
 long ལོང
 Long Deli 隆德里
 longhu 龙壺
 Lóngshuò 龙朔
 Longwang 龙王
 Longwang duo de difang Hezhou, Niangniang
 duo de difang Xining 龙王多的地方河州,
 娘娘多的地方西宁
 Lóngwù 隆务
 Longwu 隆吾
 lta-tchinbu Лта-чинбу
 Lǔ 魯
 Lu ba go go ལུ་བ་གོ་གོ
 Lu Biansheng, Luban Shengren 鲁班圣人
 Lü Jinlianmei 吕金莲梅
 Lü Shengshou 吕生寿
 Lü Yingqing 吕英青
 Lu Zhankui 鲁占奎
 Luantashi, Luanshitou 乱石头
 lugs srol ལུགས་སྒོལ
 Lun hu khrin ལུན་ཀུ་ཁྲིན
 lung rigs ལུང་རིགས
 Lǔshījiā 鲁失夹
 Ma Fanglan 马芳兰
 Ma Guangxing 马光星
 Ma Guorui 马国瑞
 Ma gzhi dmag མ་གཞི་དམག
 Ma Hanme, Ma Hanmo 马罕莫
 Ma Jun 马钧
 Ma ling yis མ་ལིང་ཡིས

Ma Luguya 马录古亚
 Ma ni skad ci, Manikacha མ་ནི་སྐད་ཅི་མ་མ་ཀའ་ཅའ་
 Ma Qiuchen 马秋晨
ma song མ་སོང་
 Ma Taohua 马桃花
 Ma Tianxi 马天喜
 Ma Wei 马伟
 Ma Xiaochen 马晓晨
 Ma Xiuying 马秀英
 Ma Youyi 马有义
 Ma Yulan 马玉澜
 Ma Zhan'ao 马占鳌
 Majia 马家
 Majiazi 马家子
man ngag མཎ་ངག་
mao 毛
 Mao Qiaohui 毛巧晖
 Maohebu 毛荷堡
 Maqang Tugun, Baiya 白崖
mchod pa མཚོད་པ་
 Mchod rten dkar po མཚོད་རྟེན་དཀར་པོ་
 Mchog sgrub mtsho མཚོག་སྒྲུབ་མཚོ་
 Mdo མདོ་
 Mdo smad མདོ་སྐད་
Mdo smad chos byung མདོ་སྐད་ཆོས་འབྱུང་
 mdo smad kyi bshad grwa yongs kyi gtso bo
 dgon lung gi chos sde chen po མདོ་སྐད་རྒྱ་
 བཤད་གྲ་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་གཙོ་བོ་དགོན་ལུང་གི་ཆོས་སྡེ་ཆེན་པོ་
mdzod btags མཛོད་བཅུགས་
mdzod thag མཛོད་ཐག་
 Ménggǔ'ér 蒙古尔
 Mengudzhu Менгү, джу, möngke zuu,
 muivggae jiu
 Menyuan 门源
 Mgar stong rtsan མགར་སྟོང་རྩ་རྒྱ
 Mgar stong rtsan yul zung མགར་སྟོང་རྩ་རྒྱལ་ཟུང་
 Mgo 'dug tsho ba མགོ་འདུག་ཚོ་བ་

Mgo log མགོ་ལོག་
mi tshan མི་ཚན་
 miao 庙
 Miaochuan 邈川
 Mín 岷
ming btags byed mi མིང་བཅུགས་བྱེད་མི་
ming btags pa མིང་བཅུགས་པ་
ming btags zur pa མིང་བཅུགས་ཟུར་པ་
 Míng, Míng 明
 Míng-Qīng 明清
 Mínhé, Minhe 民和
 Minzhu 民主
minzu 民族
mjug gi 'bul dar མཇུག་གི་འབུལ་དར་
mngon rtogs rgyan མངོན་རྟོགས་རྒྱན་
mnyam med rje btsun tsong kha pa chen pos
 mdzad pa'i byang chub lam rim chen
 mo'i dka' ba'i gnad rnams mchan bu
 bzhi'i sgo nas legs par bshad pa theg
 chen lam gyi gsal sgron མཉམ་མེད་རྩི་བཅུན་
 ཆོན་ལ་པ་ཆེན་པོས་མཛད་པའི་བྱང་ཆུབ་ལམ་རིམ་ཆེན་མོའི་དག་
 ལ་བའི་གནད་རྣམས་མཆན་བྱ་བཞིའི་སྟོན་ལེགས་པར་བཤད་
 པ་ཐེག་ཆེན་ལམ་གྱི་གསལ་
mo ba མོ་བ་
 Mo Fangxia 莫芳霞
 Mo Zicai 莫自才
modaya 猫大爷
mtshan nyid bshad pa'i grwa མཚན་ཉིད་བཤད་པའི་གྲ་
 Mtsho sngon མཚོ་སྟོན་
 Mtsho sngon po མཚོ་སྟོན་པོ་
 Mtsho snying མཚོ་སྙིང་
mu 亩
 Myang 'dus མུང་འདུས་
 Na Chaoqing 那朝庆
na re ན་རེ་
 Na thong ན་ཐོང་

Na tsha go bkal mtshams gcod

ན་ཚ་གོ་བསྐལ་མཚམས་གཅོད

Nag chu ནག་ཚུ,

Nag chu'i kha ནག་ཚུའི་ཁ

nag po [spyod pa] skor gsum

ནག་པོ་སྤྱོད་པ་སྒྲོར་གསུམ

Nag po skor gsum ནག་པོ་སྒྲོར་གསུམ

nang chen ནང་ཆེན

nang so ནང་སོ

Nang sog ནང་སོག

Nanjia, Anjia 安家

Nanjiaterghai, Anjiatou 安家头

Nanmengxia 南门峡

Nanmuge 南木哥

Nansan, Nanshan 南山

Nanshan 南山

nenjengui, yanjiaogui 眼见鬼

Nga a khu tshang la 'gro nas ང་ཨ་ཁུ་ཚང་ལ་འགོ་ནས

Nga a khu tshang la song nas ང་ཨ་ཁུ་ཚང་ལ་སོང་ནས

Ngag dbang legs bshad rgya

mtsho ངག་དབང་ལེགས་བཤད་རྒྱ་མཚོ

Ngag dbang mkhyen rab rgya mtsho

ངག་དབང་མཁྱེན་རབ་རྒྱ་མཚོ

Nian Gengyao 年羹尧

Nianbo 碾伯

Nianduhu 年都乎

Niangniang 娘娘

Nijia 吕家

Ningbo fu qianhu shouyu 宁波副千户守禦

Níngxia, Ningxia 宁夏

Niuqi, Liushuigou 流水沟

Niutou Wang 牛头王

no mon han མོ་མོན་ཀན

Nongchang 农场

Nongcun hezuo yiliao baoxian 农村合作医疗保

险

Nor lda bkra shis རོ་ལ་བླ་བཀ་ཤེས

Nub byang du nyi ma རུབ་བྱང་དུ་ཉི་མ

Nub du zla ba རུབ་དུ་བླ་བ

Nuo Shuangxihua, E Shuangxihua 鄂双喜花

Nuojia, Ejia 鄂家

nye 'brel ཉེ་འབྲེལ

Nye sring ཉེ་སྤྱོད

Nyi ma 'dzin ཉི་མ་འཛིན

Nyi ma 'dzin Ngag dbang legs bshad rgya

mtsho ཉི་མ་འཛིན་ངག་དབང་ལེགས་བཤད་རྒྱ་མཚོ

O chi go bu me thu me lun ཨོ་ཆི་གོ་བུ་མེ་ཐུ་མེ་ལུན

O chi hu sun ཨོ་ཆི་ཁུ་སུན

O hu me tu ཨོ་ཁུ་མེ་ཐུ

pA ren པཱ་རེན

Pad spungs པད་སྤུངས

Pe dpa' ri lang པེ་དཔའ་རི་ལང

Pe hu པེ་ཁུ

Pen hwa ri lang པེན་ཁྱ་རི་ལང

Per nyi ma 'dzin པེར་ཉི་མ་འཛིན

Per nyi ma 'dzin Ngag dbang legs bshad rgya

mtsho པེར་ཉི་མ་འཛིན་ངག་དབང་ལེགས་བཤད་རྒྱ་མཚོ

pha rol bdud sde'i dpung tshogs

ཕ་རོལ་བདུད་སྡེའི་དཔུང་ཚོགས

phan theb པན་ཐེབ

phas thi པས་ཐི

pho brang ཕོ་བྲང

phrug ཕུག

phug tshangs kyi gtam ཕུག་ཚངས་ཀྱི་གཏམ

Phun tshogs ཕུན་ཚོགས

phyag ཕུག

phying ཕྱིང

Phyug rtse chos rje ཕུག་རུ་ཅེ་ཆོས་རྗེ

Pin rkya tshi me པིན་རྒྱ་ཚེ་མེ

Ping'an 平安

Pinyin 汉语

po tho པོ་ཐོ

po ti lnga པོ་ཏི་ལྷ

Pochu mixin 破除迷信

Potala པོ་ཏ་ལ
 Puba 普巴
 Pudang, Pudonggou 普洞沟
 Pudong 浦东
 Qaghuali, Chaergou 岔儿沟
 Qangsa, Chunsha 春沙
 Qazi, Qiazi 卡子
 Qi 祁
 Qi Huimin 祁慧民
 Qi Jianqing 祁建青
 Qi Tusi 祁土司
 Qi Wenlan 祁文兰
 Qi Zhengxian 祁正贤
 Qianhe 前河
 qiānhùsuǒ 千户所
 Qianjin 前进
 Qiānlóng, Qianlong 乾隆
 Qiao Dongmei 乔冬梅
 Qiao Shenghua 乔生华
 Qighaan Dawa, Baiyahe 白牙合
 Qijia 祁家
 Qijia Laoye 祁家老爷
 Qílián, Qilian 祁连
 Qiliao! Sanliao! 去了! 散了!
 Qín 秦
 Qīng, Qing 清
 Qingdao 青岛
 Qinghai yiyao weishengzhi 青海医药卫生志
 Qīnghǎi, Qinghai 青海
 Qinghaihua 青海话
 Qinghaisheng Fangyizhan 青海省防疫站
 qingkuo 青稞
 Qinglong Tianzi 青龙天子
 Qingming 清明
 Qingyun 庆云
 Quurisang Srishiji, Huayuansi 花园寺
 Ra 𑀢

rab 'byams རབ་འབྲམས
 rab 'byams pa རབ་འབྲམས་པ
 Rab brtan rdo rje རབ་བརྟན་རྡོ་རྗེ
 Rab kha རབ་ཁ་
 Rab kha gru gtong རབ་ཁ་གུ་གཏོང
 rang bzhin gnas rigs རང་བཞིན་གནས་རིགས
 rang nyid rgyal ba རང་ཉིད་རྒྱལ་བ
 Rangdin, Longdong 龙东
 Rangghuali, Longyi 龙一
 rangpi, niangpi 酿皮
 Rar du pa sang རར་དུ་པ་སང
 Rar lhor mig dmar རར་ལྷོ་རིག་དམར
 rdo ram pa རྡོ་རམ་པ
 Rdo rje 'jigs byed རྡོ་རྗེ་འཇིགས་བྱེད
 Rdo rje gdan རྡོ་རྗེ་གདན
 rdung rgyug རུང་རྒྱུག
 Reb gong རེབ་གོང
 Reb gong gnyan thog རེབ་གོང་གཉན་ཐོག
 Reb gong rgan rgya རེབ་གོང་རྒྱ་རྒྱ
 ren po che, rnbuqii, renboqie 仁波切
 ren 人
 Renminbi 人民币
 Rgan rgya རྒྱ་རྒྱ
 Rgulang, Dgon lung ར་གོ་ལུང་, Erh-ku-lung,
 Guolong 郭隆, Yu-ning, Youning 佑宁
 rgya རྒྱ
 Rgya bza' kong jo རྒྱ་བཟའ་ཀོང་རྡོ
 Rgya gar rdo rje gdan རྒྱ་གར་རྡོ་རྗེ་གདན
 Rgya hor རྒྱ་ཧོར
 Rgya tshang ma རྒྱ་ཙང་མ
 Rgyal sras རྒྱལ་སྐྱས
 Rgyal sras 'Jigs med ye shes grags
 pa རྒྱལ་སྐྱས་འཇིགས་མེད་ཡེ་ཤེས་གྲགས་པ
 Rgyal sras Don yod chos kyi rgya mtsho
 རྒྱལ་སྐྱས་དོན་ཡོད་ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་མཚོ
 Rgyal sras rin po che རྒྱལ་སྐྱས་རིན་པོ་ཆེ
 rgyug རྒྱུག

rgyugs རྒྱལ་སྐད་
rgyugs len pa རྒྱལ་སྐད་ལེན་པ་
Ri lang རི་ལང་
Ri lang bcu gnyis རི་ལང་བཅུ་གཉིས་
Ri stag རི་སྟག་
rigs རིགས་
rigs lam pa རིགས་ལམ་པ་
rigs lung byed mkhan རིགས་ལུང་བྱེད་མཁན་
Rin chen sgrol ma རིན་ཆེན་སྒྲོལ་མ་
ris med རིས་མེད་
Riyue Dalang 日月大郎
rjes gnang རྗེས་གནང་
rka རྒྱ་
Rka gsar རྒྱ་གསར་
Rka gsar dgon dga' ldan 'dus bzang chos gling
 རྒྱ་གསར་དགོན་དགའ་ལྷན་འདུས་བཟང་ཆོས་གླིང་
rlung rta རླུང་རྟ་
Rma chu རྩ་ཆུ་
Rma chu'i rab kha dngul ri'i sa bzang gri spyod
 རྩ་ཆུའི་རབ་ཁམ་དངུལ་རིའི་ས་བཟང་གྲི་སྦྱོང་རབ་ཁམ་
Rma lho རྩ་ལྷོ་
RMB, Renminbi 人民币
rnam 'grel རྩམ་འགྲེལ་
rnam gzhang རྩམ་གཞག་
Rnam rgyal རྩམ་རྒྱལ་
rnbuqii, rin po che རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ *ren po che, renboqie*
 仁波切
Rong bo རོང་བོ་
Rong bo nang so རོང་བོ་ནང་སོ་
Rong zom རོང་ཟོམ་
ronghua fugui 荣华富贵
Rta 'gying རྟ་འགྱིང་
rta chen po རྟ་ཆེན་པོ་
Rta mgrin རྟ་མགྲིན་
rtag gsal khyab རྟག་གསལ་ཁྱེད་
rtsam pa རུམ་པ་
Rtse khog རེ་ཁོག་

rtsis bzhag gi rgyugs རེས་བཞག་གི་རྒྱལ་སྐད་
rtsod grwa རྩོད་གྲུ་
rtsod zla རྩོད་བླ་
sa ས་
sa bdag ས་བདག་
Sa bdag sog po ri lang ས་བདག་སོག་པོ་རི་ལང་
sa dpyad pa ས་དཔྱད་པ་
Salar, Sala 撒拉
San'erjia 三二家
Sānchuān, Sanchuan 三川
Sānchuān Tüzú 三川土族
Sānchuānsìlǐ 三川四里
Sandaohe 三道河
Sangjie Renqian 桑杰仁谦
Sde ba chos rje སྡེ་བ་ཆོས་རྗེ་
Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho
 སྡེ་སྦྱིང་སངས་རྒྱས་རྒྱལ་མཚོ་
Se ra སེ་ར་
Sems mtsho སེམས་མཚོ་
Sems nyid, sems nyid སེམས་ཉིད་
Sems nyid sprul sku bstan 'dzin 'phrin las rgya
 སེམས་ཉིད་སྤྲུལ་སྦུ་བསྟན་འཛིན་འཕྲིན་ལས་རྒྱལ་མཚོ་
sen chugs སེན་ཆུགས་
Seng ge gshong སེང་གེ་གཤོང་
sgar སྐར་
Sgar thog སྐར་ཐོག་
Sgo dmar སྐོ་དམར་
Sgo dmar G.yang mo tshe ring སྐོ་དམར་གཡང་མོ་ཆེ་རིང་
Sgo mang སྐོ་མང་
Sgo mang grwa tshang སྐོ་མང་གྲུ་ཚང་
Sgrol ma སྒྲོལ་མ་
sgrub sde སྒྲུབ་སྡེ་
Sha bar chos rje ཤ་བར་ཆོས་རྗེ་
Sha bar nang so ཤ་བར་ནང་སོ་
Sha Delin 沙德林
Sha Heshang 沙和尚
Shaanxi, Shǎnxī 陕西

shags ngan ཤགས་ངན
 Shahai 沙海
 Shānběi 陕北
 Shancheng 山城
 Shandong 山东
 Shanghai 上海
 Shangzhai 上寨
 Shānxī, Shanxi 山西
 Shanzhaojia 山赵家
 Shanzhou 鄯州
 Shao Yundong 邵雲東
 Shaowa 勺哇
 Shar Bla ma ཤར་བླ་མ
shar ཤར
 Shatangchuan 沙塘川
 Shdanbasang, Shijiamoni 释迦摩尼
 Shdangja, Dongjia 东家
 Shdara Tang, Dalantan 达拉滩
shen jian 神剑
shenfu 神甫
sheng 升
 Shenjiao 教神
sheqi 蛇旗
 Shgeayili, Dazhuang 大庄
 Shi Cunwu 师存武
 Shi'er Wei Zushi 十二位祖师
shibei 石碑
 Shina 史纳
 Shing bza' ཤིང་བཟའ
 Shíyá 石崖
sho ma ཤོ་མ
shor ba ཤོར་བ
shuang xi 双喜
 Shuangma Tongzi 双马童子
 Shuangshu 双树
 Shuilian Dong 水帘洞
 Shuimogou 水磨沟

Sichuan 四川
skabs bzhi pa སྐབས་བཞི་པ
 Skal bzang thub bstan 'phrin las rgya mtsho
 སྐལ་བཟང་ཐུབ་བསྟན་འཕྲིན་ལས་བླ་མཚོ
 Skal bzang ye shes dar rgyas སྐལ་བཟང་ཡེ་ཤེས་དར་རྒྱས
 Skal ldan rgya mtsho སྐལ་ལྷན་བླ་མཚོ
 Sko tshi me སྐོ་ཙེ་མེ
skor ru སྐོར་རུ
skra ka སྐ་ཀ
skra phab སྐ་ཕབ
 Sku 'bum སྐུ་འབུམ
 Sku 'bum byams pa gling སྐུ་འབུམ་བྱམས་པ་གླིང་
 Skya rgya, Jiajia 贾加
 Skyabs 'gro སྐལ་བས་འགོ
 Skyid shod sprul sku སྐྱིད་ཤོད་སྐུ་སྐུ
skyor སྐྱོར
skyor dpon སྐྱོར་དཔོན
 Smad pa སྐད་པ
smad phyogs སྐད་ཕྱོགས
smeen, Sier 寺尔
 Smeen, Ximi 西米
 Smin grol སྐྱིན་གྲོལ
 Smin grol no min han སྐྱིན་གྲོལ་ནི་མིན་ཏན
 Smon lam, smon lam སྐྱོན་ལམ
smyung gnas སྐྱུང་གནས
sna tshogs 'di སྐ་ཚགས་འདི
sngags 'chang སྐགས་འཆང
sngags pa སྐགས་པ
 Snying bo rgyal སྐྱིང་བོ་རྒྱལ
 Snying mo སྐྱིང་མོ
 Snying rje tshogs pa སྐྱིང་རྗེ་ཚགས་པ
 Sog སོག
 Sog rdzong སོག་རྫོང
 Sog rgya སོག་རྒྱ
sog yul སོག་ཡུལ
 Song Ying 宋颖
song སོང

Songchang Suzhun (Sizhun?) 耸昌厮均
 Songduo 松多
 Songjia 宋家
 Songpan 松潘
 Songrang, Xunrang 逊让
 Spun zla hor gyi rgyal po སུན་ལྷ་ཧོར་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་
 spyi 'jog སྤྱི་འཛོག་
 spyi rdzas སྤྱི་རྩམ་
 srang སྲང་
 srol སྟོལ་
 Strong btsan sgam po སྟོང་བཙན་སྐམ་པོ་
 srung ma སྲུང་མ་
 Stag gzig nor gyi rgyal po སྟག་གཟིག་ནོར་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་
 Stag lha rgyal སྟག་ལྷ་རྒྱལ་
 Stobs ldan སྟོབས་ལྷན་
 Su Shan 苏珊
 Sughuangghuali, Suobugou 索卜沟
 suitou 岁头
 Suiyuan 綏遠
 Sum pa སུམ་པ་
 Sum pa mkhan po Ye shes dpal 'byor
 སུམ་པ་མཁན་པོ་ཡེ་ཤེས་དཔལ་འབྱོར་
 Sun Wukong 孙悟空
 Sunbu, Songbu 松布
 Suojie Longwang 锁脚龙王
 Suojie Ye 锁脚爷
 Suonan 索南
 Suonan Cuo 索南措
 Suzhou 苏州
 Suzhou Xinzhi 苏州新志
 tA si ཏཱ་སི་
 Ta'er si 塔尔寺
 Taishan 泰山
 Taizi 台子
 Tang Xiaoqing 汤晓青
 Táng, Tang 唐
 tangka 唐卡, thang ka ཐང་ཀ་

Tangraa, Tangla 塘拉
 Tangseng 唐僧
 thal 'phen ཐལ་འཕེན་
 thal 'phreng ཐལ་འཕྲེང་
 thal srog ཐལ་སྟོག་
 thal zlog ཐལ་ལྷོག་
 thang ka ཐང་ཀ་
 theb ཐེབ་
 Ther gang nyi wi ཐེར་གང་ཉི་མི་
 ther gang nyi wi na thong ཐེར་གང་ཉི་མི་ན་ཐོང་
 Thu me lun ཐུ་མེ་ལུན་
 Thu'u bkwan ཐུ་འུ་བཀྱན་
 Thu'u bkwan blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma
 ཐུ་འུ་བཀྱན་བློ་བཟང་ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཉི་མ་
 thun mong ma yin pa ཐུན་མོང་མ་ཡིན་པ་
 thun mong pa ཐུན་མོང་པ་
 Tianjia 田家
 Tianjin 天津
 tianqi 天旗
 Tiantang 天堂
 Tianyoude 天佑德
 Tiānzhù, Tianzhu 天助
 To'u pa tsi ཏཱ་པ་ཙི་
 Tongren 同仁
 tongzi 筒子
 tsakra bcu gsum gyi sngags blzog
 ཙན་པ་རུ་གསུམ་གྱི་སྟགས་བལ་ཐོག་
 tsampa, rtsam pa ཙམ་པ་
 tsha bzhed ཙམ་བཞེད་
 tsha gad ཙམ་གད་
 tsha gra ཙམ་ག་
 Tsha lu ma byin gi song ཙམ་ལུ་མ་བྱིན་གི་སོང་
 Tsha lu ma ster gi song ཙམ་ལུ་མ་སྟེར་གི་སོང་
 tsha ri ཙམ་རི་
 tsha ཙམ་
 tsha rting ཙམ་རྟིང་
 tshab grwa ཙམ་གྲལ་

tshad ma sde bdun ཚད་མ་སྡེ་བདུན
tshang ཚང
 Tshe hrin yan ཚེ་རིན་ཡན
 Tshe ring ཚེ་རིང་
 Tshe ring don 'grub ཚེ་རིང་དོན་འགྲུབ
 Tshe ring skyid ཚེ་རིང་སྒྱིད་
tshi me ཚེ་མེ
tshig nyen ཚེག་ཉེན་
tshig sgra rgyas pa ཚེག་སྒྲ་རྒྱལ་པ་
tsho ba ཚོ་བ་
 Tsho ཚོ
 Tsho kha ཚོ་ཁ་
tshogs ཚོགས་
tshogs lang ཚོགས་ལང་
tshogs langs lugs bzhin ཚོགས་ལངས་ལུགས་བཞིན་
 Tshwa mtsho ཚྭ་མཚོ་
 Tsi tsong ཅི་ཙོང་
 Tso ri ri lang ཅོ་རི་རི་ལང་
 Tso shi ri lang ཅོ་ཤི་རི་ལང་
 Tsong kha ཅོང་ཁ་
 Tsong kha pa ཅོང་ཁ་པ།, Zongkaba ཅོང་ཁ་པ་
tszurhaitchi цзурхайчи
 Tǔ, Tu 土
 Tǔdá 土达
 Tǔfān, Tufan 吐蕃
 Tughuan, Tuguan 土官
 Tughuan Nengneng, Tuguan Niangniang 土官
 娘娘
 Tughuangang, Tuguanshan 土官山
 Tǔhún 吐浑
 Tuìhún 退浑
 Tǔmín, Tumin 土民
 Tuoba Yuanhao 拓跋元昊
 Tǔrén, Turen 土人
tǔsī, tusi 土司
 Tutai 土台 (Sujia 苏家?)
 Tǔyùhún, Tuyuhun 吐谷浑

Tǔzú, Tuzu 土族
 Tuzuyu 土族语
 Walighuan (Bagushan 巴古山)
 Wang, wang 王
 Wang chen khri བང་ཆེན་ཁྱི
 Wang Dongmeihua 王冬梅花
 Wang skyA བང་སྐལ་
 Wang Tusi 汪土司
 Wang Wenyan 王文艳
 Wang Yanzhang 王彦章
 Wang Yongqing 王永庆
 Wáng Yúnfēng 王云凤
 Wangjia 王家
 Wànlì 万历
 Wanzi 湾子
 Wǎqúsìlǐ 瓦渠四里
 Weisheng jihuashengyuju 卫生计生生育局
 Wēiyuǎn, Weiyuan 威远
 Wen Xiangcheng 文祥呈
 Wen Xiping 文喜萍
 Wenbu 温逋
 Wencheng Gongzhu 文成公主
 Wenjia 文家
 Wentan Liaowang 文坛瞭望
 Wu Jiexun 吴解勋
 Wu Lanyou 吴兰友
 Wughuang, Bahong 巴洪
 Wujia 吴家
 Wulan 乌兰
 Wushi 五十
 Wushi 梧释
 Wushi xiang 五十乡
 Wutun 吾屯
 Wutun 五屯
 Wuyangbu 威远堡
 Wuyue Dangwu 五月端午
 Wuyue Duanwu 五月端午

Xanjang, *xanjang*, Shancheng, *shancheng* 山城
 Xi'an 西安
 Xia 夏
 Xia Guo 夏国
 Xiahe 夏河
 Xiakou 峡口
 Xianbei 鲜卑
Xianrenmin weishengyuan 县人民医院
Xianrenmin yiyuan 县人民医院
 Xiaosi 小寺
 Xibu dakaifa 西部大开发
 Xie 谢
 Xie Yongshouhua 谢永寿花
 Xiejia 谢家
 Xiela 协拉
 Xiera, Xiela 协拉
 Xifan 西番
 Xikouwai 西口外
 Xin 辛
 Xin Youfang 辛有芳
 Xing Haiyan 邢海燕
 Xing Quancheng 星全成
 Xing Yonggui 邢永贵
 Xing'er 杏儿
xingfu 幸福
 Xīníng, Xining 西宁, 西寧
 Xining Zhi 西宁志
 Xinjia 辛家
 Xinxia 辛峡
 Xiu Lianhua 绣莲花
 Xiwanzi 西灣子
 Xiyingzi 西营子
 Xu Xiufu 徐秀福
 Xuangwa, Beizhuang 北庄
 Xuanhua 宣化
 Xuanzang 玄奘
 Xuānzōng 宣宗

Xue Wenhua 薛文华
 Xunhua 循化
 Yá'ér 崖尔
 Yan Guoliang 闫国良
 Yáng 杨
 Yang Chun 杨春
 Yang lji tsho ba ཡར་ལྷི་ཙོ་བ་
 Yang Xia 杨霞
 Yangda, Changshoufo 长寿佛
 Yangja, Yangjia 杨家
 Yangjia 杨家
 Yangtou Huhua 羊头护化
 Yangzi, Changjiang 长江
 Yar klung tsang po ཡར་ཀླུང་ཙང་པོ་
 Yar sko tsho ba ཡར་སྐོ་ཙོ་བ་
 Yar sko ཡར་སྐོ་
 Ye su khe ཡེ་སུ་མེ་
 Yí 夷
 Yi Lang 衣郎
yig cha gsar ba ཡིག་ཇ་གསར་བ་
yig rgyugs ཡིག་རྒྱུགས་
 Yigongcheng 移公城
 Ying Zhongyu 应忠瑜
 Ying Zihua 英子花
 Yīngzōng 英宗
yinyang 阴阳
 Yomajaa, Yaomajia 姚麻家
 Yon tan 'od ཡོན་ཏན་འོད་
 Yon tan rgya mtsho ཡོན་ཏན་རྒྱ་མཚོ་
 Yǒngchàng 永昌
 Yǒngdèng 永登
 Yǒnglè, Yongle 永乐, 永樂
 Yongning 永宁
 Yongzheng 雍正
 Yòuníng 佑宁
 Youning si 佑寧寺
 Yuan, *yuan* 元

yue 月
Yul shul ཡུལ་སྐུལ་
yul srol ཡུལ་སྐྱོལ་
Yun ci dmag ཡུན་ཅི་དམག་
Zan Yulan 簪玉兰
Zanza 簪扎
zao 枣
zaoren 枣仁
Zeku 泽库
Zelin 泽林
zha ngo ཇཱ་ངོ་
zhal ngo ཇཱ་ལ་ངོ་
Zhalute 扎鲁特
Zhang blon bzhi ཇཱ་ལྷོན་བཞི་
Zhang Chongsunhua 张重孙花
Zhāng Dézǔ 张得祖
Zhang Xiang 张翔
Zhang Xihua 张喜花
Zhang Yinghua 张英花
Zhang Yongjun 张永俊
Zhangjiakou 张家口
Zhao Guilan 赵桂兰
Zhao Jinzihua 赵金子花
Zhao Xiuhua 赵秀花
Zhao Xiulan 赵秀兰
Zhao Yongxiang 赵永祥
Zhaomuchuan 赵木川
Zhejiang 浙江
zhihui qianshi 指挥僉事

Zhili 直隶
Zhong Jingwen 钟进文
Zhong Shumi, Zhang Shumei 张淑梅
zhongdouju 种痘局
Zhu Bajie 猪八戒
Zhu Changminghua 朱长命花
Zhu Chunhua 朱春花
zhu dar ཇཱ་དར་
Zhu Ernuer, Ernü 朱二女
Zhu Guobao 朱国宝
Zhu Haishan 朱海山
Zhu Jinxiu 朱金秀
Zhu Xiangfeng 朱向峰
Zhu Yongzhong 朱永忠
Zhuang Xueben 庄学本
Zhuānglàng 庄浪
Zhujia 朱家
Zhuoni 卓尼
Zi ling ཇི་ལིང་
zla ba dang po'i drug ba gnyis kyi nyin gsum
gyi ring la ཇཱ་བ་དང་པའི་དུག་བ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཉིན་གསུམ་
 ཇཱ་རིང་ལ་
zla po byed ཇཱ་པོ་བྱེད་
Zo wi ne ni ཇོ་ཡི་ནེ་ནི་
Zongge 宗哥
Zonggecheng 宗哥城
zongjia 天子
zur skol ཇུར་སྐོལ་
Zushi 祖師